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SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF WILLIAM MCKINLEY





OF WILLIAM M KING HT -



SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF WILLIAM McKINLEY

FROM MARCH 1, 1897 TO MAY 30, 1900

NEW YORK DOUBLEDAY & McCLURE CO. 1900



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PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

THE enthusiasm with which President Mc-Kinley's speeches and addresses have been received in every part of the Union has suggested their permanent publication; and into this volume have been gathered all those that he delivered from the time he left his home in Canton, Ohio, to enter upon the duties of the Presidency, to his speech at Antietam battle-field, Maryland, May 30, 1900. They are published as they were spoken, most of them from stenographic reports. They are put in this volume in chronological order, because an arrangement by topics would break the sequence more violently than an arrangement by time.

Included in the collection are the President's Inaugural Address and all the speeches delivered by him on his several visits to New York, to New England, to the Middle and Western States, and to the Southern States. In them he discusses a wide range of subjects—a wider range than it has fallen to any other President to discuss since Lincoln: some are memorial addresses; in others he takes up commercial and financial topics of the widest importance; and in others the war with Spain and the new and momentous problems that have grown out of it. The contents of this volume include, in fact, what President McKinley has spoken in every section of the country on all the important subjects that have come forward during his administration. The literary quality of these speeches, as well as their intrinsic merit, warrant their.preservation in the convenient form of a volume that may have a wide circulation.

The portrait that appears as the frontispiece is a reproduction of a steel engraving that was made in 1898 at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Washington, and is regarded as one of the best likenesses of President McKinley that have ever been made.

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My Neighbors and Friends and Fellow-Citizens :

On the eve of departure to the seat of government, soon to assume the duties of an arduous responsibility, as great as can devolve upon any man, nothing could give me greater pleasure than this farewell greeting this evidence of your friendship and sympathy, your good will, and, I am sure, the prayers of all the people with whom I have lived so long, and whose confidence and esteem are dearer to me than any other earthly honors. To all of us the future is as a sealed book; but if I can, by official act or administration or utterance, in any degree add to the prosperity and unity of our beloved country and the advancement and well-being of our splendid citizenship, I will devote the best and most unselfish efforts of my life to that end. [Loud and continued applause.]

The assumption of the chief magistracy is of such grave importance that partizanship cannot blind the judgment or accept any other consideration than the public good of all, of every party and every section.

I.

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With this thought uppermost in my mind, I reluctantly take leave of my friends and neighbors, cherishing in my heart the sweetest memories and the tenderest thoughts of my old home—my home now, and, I trust, my home hereafter, so long as I live. [Tremendous applause.] I thank you and bid you all good-by.

II.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS, DELIVERED FROM EAST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, MARCH 4, 1897.

Fellow-Citizens :

In obedience to the will of the people and in their presence, by the authority vested in me by this oath, I assume the arduous and responsible duties of President of the United States, relying on the support of my countrymen and invoking the guidance of Almighty God. Our faith teaches that there is no safer reliance than upon the God of our fathers, who has so singularly favored the American people in every national trial, and who will not forsake us so long as we obey his commandments and walk humbly in his footsteps.

The responsibilities of the high trust to which I have been called—always of grave importance—are augmented by the prevailing business conditions, entailing idleness upon willing labor and loss to useful enterprises. The country is suffering from industrial disturbances from which speedy relief must be had. Our financial system needs some revision; our money is all good now, but its value must not further be threatened. It should all be put upon an enduring basis, not subject to easy attack or its stability to doubt or dispute. Our currency should continue under the supervision of the government. The several forms of our paper money offer, in my judgment, a constant embarrassment to the government and to a safe balance in the Treasury. Therefore I believe it necessary to devise a system which, without diminishing the circulating medium or offering a premium for its contraction, will present a remedy for those arrangements, which, temporary in their nature, might well in the years of our prosperity have been displaced by wiser provisions. With adequate revenue secured, but not until then, we can enter upon such changes in our fiscal laws as will, while insuring safety and volume to our money, no longer impose upon the government the necessity of maintaining so large a gold reserve, with its attendant and inevitable temptations to speculation. Most of our financial laws are the outgrowth of experience and trial, and should not be amended without investigation and demonstration of the wisdom of the proposed changes. We must both "be sure we are right" and "make haste slowly." If, therefore, Congress in its wisdom shall deem it expedient to create a commission to take under early consideration the revision of our coinage, banking, and currency laws, and give them that exhaustive, careful, and dispassionate examination that their importance demands, I shall cordially concur in such action. If such power is vested in the President, it is my purpose to appoint a commission of prominent, well-informed citizens of different parties. who will command public confidence both on account of their ability and special fitness for the work. Business experience and public training may thus be combined, and the patriotic zeal of the friends of the country be so directed that such a report will be made as to receive the support of all parties, and our finances eease to be the subject of mere partizan contention. The experiment is, at all events, worth a trial, and, in my opinion, it can but prove beneficial to the entire country.

The question of international bimetallism will have early and earnest attention. It will be my constant endeavor to secure it by coöperation with the other great commercial powers of the world. Until that condition is realized when the parity between our gold and silver money springs from and is supported by the relative value of the two metals, the value of the silver already coined, and of that which may hereafter be coined, must be kept constantly at par with gold by every resource at our command. The credit of the government, the integrity of its currency, and the inviolability of its obligations must be preserved. This was the commanding verdict of the people, and it will not be unheeded.

Economy is demanded in every branch of the government at all times, but especially in periods like the present, of depression in business and distress among the people. The severest economy must be observed in all public expenditures, and extravagance stopped wherever it is found, and prevented wherever in the future it may be developed. If the revenues are to remain as now, the only relief that can come must be from decreased expenditures. But the present must not become the permanent condition of the government. It has been our uniform practice to retire, not increase, our outstanding obligations, and this policy must again be resumed and vigorously enforced. Our revenues should always be large enough to meet with ease and promptness not only our current needs, and the principal and interest of the public debt, but to make proper and liberal provision for that most deserving body of public creditors, the soldiers and sailors and the widows and orphans who are the pensioners of the United States.

The government should not be permitted to run behind or increase its debt in times like the present. Suitably to provide against this is the mandate of duty, the certain and easy remedy for most of our financial difficulties. A deficiency is inevitable so long as the expenditures of the government exceed its receipts. It can only be met by loans or an increased revenue. While a large annual surplus of revenue may invite waste and extravagance, inadequate revenue creates distrust and undermines public and private credit. Neither should be encouraged. Between more loans and more revenue there ought to be but one opinion. We should have more revenue, and that without delay, hindrance, or postponement. A surplus in the Treasury created by loans is not a permanent or safe reliance. It will suffice while it lasts, but it cannot last long while the outlays of the government are greater than its receipts, as has been the case during the past two years. Nor must it be forgotten that however much such loans may temporarily relieve the situation, the government is still indebted for the amount of the surplus thus accrued, which it must ultimately pay, while its ability to pay is not strengthened, but weakened, by a continued deficit. Loans are

imperative in great emergencies to preserve the government or its credit, but a failure to supply needed revenue in time of peace for the maintenance of either has no justification.

The best way for the government to maintain its credit is to pay as it goes-not by resorting to loans, but by keeping out of debt-through an adequate income secured by a system of taxation, external or internal, or both. It is the settled policy of the government, pursued from the beginning and practised by all parties and administrations, to raise the bulk of our revenue from taxes upon foreign productions entering the United States for sale and consumption, and avoiding, for the most part, every form of direct taxation, except in time of war. The country is clearly opposed to any needless additions to the subjects of internal taxation, and is committed by its latest popular utterance to the system of tariff taxation. There can be no misunderstanding, either, about the principle upon which this tariff taxation shall be levied. Nothing has ever been made plainer at a general election than that the controlling principle in the raising of revenue from duties on imports is zealous care for American interests and American labor. The people have declared that such legislation should be had as will give ample protection and encouragement to the industries and the development of our country. It is, therefore, earnestly hoped and expected that Congress will, at the earliest practicable moment, enact revenue legislation that shall be fair, reasonable, conservative, and just, and which, while supplying sufficient revenue for public purposes. will still be signally beneficial and helpful to every section and every enterprise of the people. To this

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policy/we are all, of whatever party, firmly bound by the voice of the people—a power vastly more potential than the expression of any political platform. The paramount duty of Congress is to stop deficiencies by the restoration of that protective legislation which has always been the firmest prop of the Treasury. The passage of such a law or laws would strengthen the credit of the government both at home and abroad, and go far toward stopping the drain upon the gold reserve held for the redemption of our currency, which has been heavy and well-nigh constant for several years.

In the revision of the tariff especial attention should be given to the reënactment and extension of the reciprocity principle of the law of 1890, under which so great a stimulus was given to our foreign trade in new and advantageous markets for our surplus agricultural and manufactured products. The brief trial given this legislation amply justifies a further experiment and additional discretionary power in the making of commercial treaties, the end in view always to be the opening up of new markets for the products of our country, by granting concessions to the products of other lands that we need and cannot produce ourselves, and which do not involve any loss of labor to our own people, but tend to increase their employment.

The depression of the past four years has fallen with especial severity upon the great body of toilers of the country, and upon none more than the holders of small farms. Agriculture has languished and labor suffered. The revival of manufacturing will be a relief to both. No portion of our population is more devoted to the institutions of free government, nor more loyal in their support, while none bears more cheerfully or fully its proper share in the maintenance of the government, or is better entitled to its wise and liberal care and protection. Legislation helpful to producers is beneficial to all. The depressed condition of industry on the farm and in the mine and factory has lessened the ability of the people to meet the demands upon them; and they rightfully expect that not only a system of revenue shall be established that will secure the largest income with the least burden. but that every means will be taken to decrease, rather than increase, our public expenditures. Business conditions are not the most promising. It will take time to restore the prosperity of former years. If we cannot promptly attain it, we can resolutely turn our faces in that direction and aid its return by friendly legislation. However troublesome the situation may appear, Congress will not, I am sure, be found lacking in disposition or ability to relieve it as far as legislation can do so. The restoration of confidence and the revival of business, which men of all parties so much desire, depend more largely upon the prompt, energetic, and intelligent action of Congress than upon any other single agency affecting the situation.

It is inspiring, too, to remember that no great emergency in the one hundred and eight years of our eventful national life has ever arisen that has not been met with wisdom and courage by the American people, with fidelity to their best interests and highest destiny, and to the honor of the American name. These years of glorious history have exalted mankind and advanced the cause of freedom throughout the world, and immeasurably strengthened the precious free institutions which we enjoy. The people love and will sustain these institutions. The great essential to our happiness and

prosperity is that we adhere to the principles upon which the government was established, and insist upon their faithful observance. Equality of rights must prevail, and our laws be always and everywhere respected and obeyed. We may have failed in the discharge of our full duty as citizens of the great republic, but it is consoling and encouraging to realize that free speech, a free press, free thought, free schools, the free and unmolested right of religious liberty and worship, and free and fair elections are dearer and more universally enjoyed to-day than ever before. These guaranties must be sacredly preserved and wisely strengthened. The constituted authorities must be cheerfully and vigorously upheld. Lynchings must not be tolerated in a great and civilized country like the United States; courts, not mobs, must execute the penalties of the law. The preservation of public order, the right of discussion. the integrity of courts, and the orderly administration of justice must continue forever the rock of safety upon which our government securely rests.

One of the lessons taught by the late election, which all can rejoice in, is that the eitizens of the United States are both law-respecting and law-abiding people, not easily swerved from the path of patriotism and honor. This is in entire accord with the genius of our institutions, and but emphasizes the advantages of inculcating even a greater love for law and order in the future. Immunity should be granted to none who violate the laws, whether individuals, corporations, or communities; and as the Constitution imposes upon the President the duty of both its own execution and of the statutes enacted in pursuance of its provisions, I shall endeavor earefully to carry them into effect. The declaration of the party now restored to power has been in the past that of "opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens"; and it has supported "such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market." This purpose will be steadily pursued, both by the enforcement of the laws now in existence and the recommendation and support of such new statutes as may be necessary to carry it into effect.

Our naturalization and immigration laws should be further improved, to the constant promotion of a safer, a better, and a higher citizenship. A grave peril to the republic would be a citizenship too ignorant to understand or too vicious to appreciate the great value and beneficence of our institutions and laws, and against all who come here to make war upon them our gates must be promptly and tightly closed. Nor must we be unmindful of the need of improvement among our own citizens, but, with the zeal of our forefathers, encourage the spread of knowledge and free education. Illiteracy must be banished from the land if we shall attain to that high destiny as the foremost of the enlightened nations of the world which, under Providence, we ought to achieve.

Reforms in the civil service must go on. But the changes should be real and genuine, not perfunctory, or prompted by a zeal in behalf of any party, simply because it happens to be in power. As a member of Congress I voted and spoke in favor of the present law, and I shall attempt its enforcement in the spirit in which

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it was enacted. The purpose in view was to secure the most efficient service of the best men who would accept appointment under the government, retaining faithful and devoted public servants in office, but shielding none, under the authority of any rule or custom, who are inefficient, incompetent, or unworthy. The best interests of the country demand this, and the people heartily approve the law wherever and whenever it has been thus administered.

Congress should give prompt attention to the restoration of our American merchant marine, once the pride of the seas in all the great ocean highways of commerce. To my mind few more important subjects so imperatively demand its intelligent consideration. The United States has progressed with marvelous rapidity in every field of enterprise and endeavor, until we have become foremost in nearly all the great lines of inland trade, commerce, and industry. Yet, while this is true, our American merchant marine has been steadily declining, until it is now lower both in the percentage of tonnage and the number of vessels employed than it was prior to the Civil War. Commendable progress has been made of late years in the upbuilding of the American navy; but we must supplement these efforts by providing as a proper consort for it a merchant marine amply sufficient for our own carrying trade to foreign coun-The question is one that appeals both to our tries. business necessities and the patriotic aspirations of a great people.

It has been the policy of the United States, since the foundation of the government, to cultivate relations of peace and amity with all the nations of the world, and this accords with my conception of our duty now. We have cherished the policy of non-interference with the affairs of foreign governments, wisely inaugurated by Washington, keeping ourselves free from entanglement either as allies or foes, content to leave undisturbed with them the settlement of their own domestic concerns. It will be our aim to pursue a firm and dignified foreign policy, which shall be just, impartial, ever watchful of our national honor, and always insisting upon the enforcement of the lawful rights of American citizens everywhere. Our diplomacy should seek nothing more and accept nothing less than is due us. We want no wars of conquest; we must avoid the temptation of territorial aggression. War should never be entered upon until every agency of peace has failed; peace is preferable to war in almost every contingency. Arbitration is the true method of settlement of international as well as local or individual differences. / It was recognized as the best means of adjustment of differences between employers and employees by the Forty-ninth Congress in 1886, and its application was extended to our diplomatic relations by the unanimous concurrence of the Senate and House of the Fifty-first Congress in The latter resolution was accepted as the basis 1890. of negotiations with us by the British House of Commons in 1893; and upon our invitation a treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain was signed at Washington and transmitted to the Senate for its ratification in January last. Since this treaty is clearly the result of our own initiative, since it has been recognized as the leading feature of our foreign policy throughout our entire national history,-the adjustment of difficulties by judicial methods rather than force of arms,-and since it presents to the world the glorious

example of reason and peace, not passion and war, controlling the relations between two of the greatest nations of the world, an example certain to be followed by others, I respectfully urge the early action of the Senate thereon, not merely as a matter of policy, but as a duty to mankind. The importance and moral influence of the ratification of such a treaty can hardly be overestimated in the cause of advancing civilization. It may well engage the best thought of the statesmen and people of every country, and I cannot but consider it fortunate that it was reserved to the United States to have the leadership in so grand a work.

It has been the uniform practice of each President to avoid, as far as possible, the convening of Congress in extraordinary session. It is an example which, under ordinary circumstances and in the absence of a public necessity, is to be commended. But a failure to convene the representatives of the people in Congress in extra session when it involves neglect of a public duty places the responsibility of such neglect upon the Executive himself. The condition of the public Treasury, as has been indicated, demands the immediate consideration of Congress. It alone has the power to provide revenues for the government. Not to convene it under such circumstances I can view in no other sense than the neglect of a plain duty. I do not sympathize with the sentiment that Congress in session is dangerous to our general business interests. Its members are the agents of the people, and their presence at the seat of government in the execution of the sovereign will should not operate as an injury, but a benefit. There could be no better time to put the government upon a sound financial and economic basis than now. The people have

only recently voted that this should be done, and nothing is more binding upon the agents of their will than the obligation of immediate action. It has always seemed to me that the postponement of the meeting of Congress until more than a year after it has been chosen deprived Congress too often of the inspiration of the popular will, and the country of the corresponding benefits. It is evident, therefore, that to postpone action in the presence of so great a necessity would be unwise on the part of the Executive, because unjust to the interests of the people. Our actions now will be freer from mere partizan consideration than if the question of tariff revision was postponed until the regular session of Congress. We are nearly two years from a congressional election, and politics cannot so greatly distract us as if such contest was immediately pending. We can approach the problem calmly and patriotically, without fearing its effect upon an early election. Our fellowcitizens who may disagree with us upon the character of this legislation prefer to have the question settled now. even against their preconceived views, and perhaps settled so reasonably, as I trust and believe it will be, as to insure great permanence, than to have further uncertainty menacing the vast and varied business interests of the United States. Again, whatever action Congress may take will be given a fair opportunity for trial before the people are called to pass judgment upon it, and this I consider a great essential to the rightful and lasting settlement of the question. In view of these considerations, I shall deem it my duty as President to convene Congress in extraordinary session on Monday, the fifteenth day of March, 1897.

In conclusion, I congratulate the country upon the

fraternal spirit of the people and the manifestations of good will everywhere so apparent. The recent election most fortunately demonstrated the obliteration not only of sectional or geographical lines, but to some extent also of the prejudices which for years have distracted our councils and marred our true greatness as a nation. The triumph of the people whose verdict is carried into effect to-day is not the triumph of one section nor wholly of one party, but of all sections and all the people. The North and the South no longer divide on the old lines, but upon principles and policies; and in this fact surely every lover of the country can find cause for true felicitation. Let us rejoice in and cultivate this spirit; it is ennobling, and will be both a gain and blessing to our beloved country. It will be my constant aim to do nothing, and permit nothing to be done, that will arrest or disturb this growing sentiment of unity and coöperation, this revival of esteem and affiliation, which now animates so many thousands in both the old antagonistic sections, but I shall cheerfully do everything possible to promote and increase it.

Let me again repeat the words of the oath administered by the Chief Justice, which in their respective spheres, so far as applicable, I would have all my countrymen observe: "I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." This is the obligation I have reverently taken before the Lord Most High. To keep it will be my single purpose, my constant prayer; and I shall confidently rely upon the forbearance and assistance of all the people in the discharge of my solemn responsibilities.

Address at the Dedication of the Grant Monument, New York, April 27, 1897.

Fellow-Citizens :

A great life, dedicated to the welfare of the nation, here finds its earthly coronation. Even if this day lacked the impressiveness of ceremony and was devoid of pageantry, it would still be memorable, because it is the anniversary of the birth of one of the most famous and best beloved of American soldiers.

Architecture has paid high tribute to the leaders of mankind, but never was a memorial more worthily bestowed or more gratefully accepted by a free people than the beautiful structure before which we are gathered.

In marking the successful completion of this work, we have as witnesses and participants representatives of all branches of our government, the resident officials of foreign nations, the governors of States, and the sovereign people from every section of our common country, who join in this august tribute to the soldier, patriot, and eitizen.

Almost twelve years have passed since the heroic vigil ended and the brave spirit of Ulysses S. Grant fearlessly took its flight. Lincoln and Stanton had preceded him, but of the mighty captains of the war Grant was the first to be called. Sherman and Sheridan survived him, but have since joined him on the other shore.

The great heroes of the civil strife on land and sea are, for the most part, now no more. Thomas and Hancock, Logan and McPherson, Farragut, Dupont, and Porter, and a host of others, have passed forever from human sight. Those remaining grow dearer to us, and from them and the memory of those who have departed, generations yet unborn will draw their inspiration and gather strength for patriotic purpose.

A great life never dies. Great deeds are imperishable; great names immortal. General Grant's services and character will continue undiminished in influence, and advance in the estimation of mankind so long as liberty remains the corner-stone of free government and integrity of life the guaranty of good citizenship.

Faithful and fearless as a volunteer soldier, intrepid and invincible as commander-in-chief of the armies of the Union, calm and confident as President of a reunited and strengthened nation which his genius had been instrumental in achieving, he has our homage and that of the world; but brilliant as was his public character, we love him all the more for his home life and homely virtues. His individuality, his bearing and speech, his simple ways, had a flavor of rare and unique distinction; and his Americanism was so true and uncompromising that his name will stand for all time as the embodiment of liberty, loyalty, and national unity.

Victorious in the work which, under divine Providence, he was called upon to do, clothed with almost limitless power, he was yet one of the people—plain, patient, patriotic, and just. Success did not disturb the even balance of his mind, while fame was powerless to swerve him from the path of duty. Great as he was in war, he loved peace, and told the world that honorable arbitration of differences was the best hope of civilization.

With Washington and Lincoln, Grant has an exalted

place in history and the affections of the people. To-day his memory is held in equal esteem by those whom he led to victory and by those who accepted his generous terms of peace. The veteran leaders of the blue and the gray here meet not only to honor the name of the departed Grant, but to testify to the living reality of a fraternal national spirit which has triumphed over the differences of the past and transcends the limitations of sectional lines. Its completion, which we pray God to speed, will be the nation's greatest glory.

It is right, then, that General Grant should have a memorial commensurate with his greatness, and that his last resting-place should be the city of his choice, to which he was so attached in life, and of whose ties he was not forgetful even in death. Fitting, too, is it that the great soldier should sleep beside the noble river on whose banks he first learned the art of war, of which he became master and leader without a rival.

But let us not forget the glorious distinction with which the metropolis among the fair sisterhood of American cities has honored his life and memory. With all that riches and sculpture can do to render the edifice worthy of the man, upon a site unsurpassed for magnificence, has this monument been reared by New York as a perpetual record of his illustrious deeds, in the certainty that, as time passes, around it will assemble, with gratitude and reverence and veneration, men of all climes, races, and nationalities.

New York holds in her keeping the precious dust of the silent soldier; but his achievements—what he and his brave comrades wrought for mankind—are in the keeping of seventy millions of American citizens, who will guard the sacred heritage forever and forevermore. Address at the Unveiling of the Washington Statue by the Society of the Cincinnati, Philadelphia, May 15, 1897.

Fellow-Citizens :

There is a peculiar and tender sentiment-connected with this memorial. It expresses not only the gratitude and reverence of the living, but is a testimonial of affection and homage from the dead.

The comrades of Washington projected this monument. Their love inspired it. Their contributions helped to build it. Past and present share in its completion, and future generations will profit by its lessons.

To participate in the dedication of such a monument is a rare and precious privilege. Every monument to Washington is a tribute to patriotism. Every shaft and statue to his memory helps to inculcate love of country, encourage loyalty, and establish a better citizenship. God bless every undertaking which revives patriotism and rebukes the indifferent and lawless!

A critical study of Washington's career only enhances our estimation of his vast and varied abilities. As commander-in-chief of the colonial armies from the beginning of the war to the proclamation of peace, as president of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, and as the first President of the United States under that Constitution, Washington has a distinction differing from that of all other illustrious Americans. No other name bears or can bear such a relation to the government. Not only by his military genius—his patience, his sagacity, his courage, and his skill—was our national independence won, but he helped in largest measure to draft the chart by which the nation was guided; and he was the first chosen of the people to put in motion the new government.

His was not the boldness of martial display or the charm of captivating oratory; but his calm and steady judgment won men's support and commanded their confidence by appealing to their best and noblest aspirations. And withal Washington was ever so modest that at no time in his career did his personality seem in the least intrusive. He was above the temptation of power. He spurned the suggested crown. He would have no honor which the people did not bestow.

An interesting fact—and one which I love to recall—is that the only time Washington formally addressed the Constitutional Convention, during all its sessions over which he presided in this city, he appealed for a larger representation of the people in the national House of Representatives, and his appeal was instantly heeded. Thus was he ever keenly watchful of the rights of the people, in whose hands was the destiny of our government then as it is to-day.

Masterful as were his military campaigns, his civil administration commands equal admiration. His foresight was marvelous; his conception of the philosophy of government, his insistence upon the necessity of education, morality, and enlightened citizenship to the progress and permanence of the republic, cannot be contemplated even at this period without filling us with astonishment at the breadth of his comprehension and the sweep of his vision. His was no narrow view of government. The immediate present was not his sole concern, but our future good his constant theme of study. He blazed the path of liberty. He laid the foundation upon which we have grown from weak and scattered colonial governments to a united republic, whose domains and power, as well as whose liberty and freedom, have become the admiration of the world. Distance and time have not detracted from the fame and force of his achievements or diminished the grandeur of his life and work. Great deeds do not stop in their growth, and those of Washington will expand in influence in all the centuries to follow.

The bequest Washington has made to civilization is rich beyond computation. The obligations under which he has placed mankind are sacred and commanding. The responsibility he has left for the American people to preserve and perfect what he accomplished is exacting and solemn. Let us rejoice in every new evidence that the people realize what they enjoy, and cherish with affection the illustrious heroes of Revolutionary story whose valor and sacrifices made us a nation. They live in us, and their memory will help us keep the covenant entered into for the maintenance of the freest government on earth.

The nation and the name of Washington are inseparable. One is linked indissolubly with the other. Both are glorious, both triumphant. Washington lives and will live because what he did was for the exaltation of man, the enthronement of conscience, and the establishment of a government which recognizes all the governed. And so, too, will the nation live victorious over all obstacles, adhering to the immortal principles which Washington taught and Lincoln sustained.

V.

REMARKS TO THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, ACADEMY OF MUSIC, PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 2, 1897.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :

Although summoned to this city for another purpose, I deem myself most fortunate to find this honorable association, in its semi-centennial convention, meeting on the same day, and I could not refrain from taking a moment from the busy program mapped out for me by Dr. Pepper, whose assurance I had before coming here that it would be a day of rest [laughter], which I have already begun to realize [renewed laughter]. I could not refrain from pausing a moment, that I might come into this brilliant presence to meet the learned gentlemen here assembled, and to pay my respectful homage to the noble profession which you so worthily represent. [Applause.] You have my best wishes, and, I am sure, the best wishes of all our countrymen, for the highest results of your profession, and my warm and hearty congratulations upon this your fiftieth anniversary. [Applause.]

VI.

Remarks at the School of Industrial Art, Philadelphia, June 2, 1897.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

It gives me very sincere pleasure to see, as I have seen in the last few minutes, this great industrial school of art. There is nothing like the application of art to industry. Nothing wins in this world like industry supplemented by character. Industry and character win in every contest and triumph in every field. I congratulate the young men and young women upon the opportunities which this institution gives them, and I congratulate the officers and board of managers in having charge of this institution. [Applause.]

VII.

Address at the National Opening of the Philadelphia Museums, Philadelphia, June 2, 1897.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

To have assembled the representatives of great commercial and industrial interests at home and abroad in such large numbers is so unusual as to make this a memorable event. Chambers of commerce and boards of trade, mayors of cities and governors of States, together with official visitors from fifteen other nations, unite to testify to the importance attached to this undertaking.

Every one of our sister republics of this continent is here represented through its special minister, and in a number of instances large delegations of prominent citizens have made long journeys at great sacrifice to participate in this significant occasion. To all we give hearty greeting and a most hospitable welcome.

No ordinary object could have produced such an industrial convention. Interstate and international interests and courtesy have contributed to its success; but nothing less than a deep conviction in the minds of the people represented, that the movement here begun will eventually effect permanent gains in their commercial relations, can account for its wide and distinguished character.

The avowed aim of the Philadelphia Museums is to aid in the development of commercial and industrial prosperity. No worthier cause can engage our energies at this hour. It is a most praiseworthy one—the extension of trade to be followed by wider markets, better fields of employment, and easier conditions for the masses. Such an effort commands the instant approval of all lovers of mankind, for with it are linked the prosperity of the humblest toiler and the welfare of every home and fireside.

The movement is inaugurated on broad and progressive lines. Its authors and promoters believe that the conditions of international commerce can be directly promoted by systematic study and demonstrated by scientific methods. The distinguished body of gentlemen who have planned this organization have grasped great economic truths, and are prepared to pursue them

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to their successful conclusion. Its generous support will increase its usefulness.

One national industrial undertaking prepares the way for another. A great exhibit like this is an education and an inspiration. It concentrates the attention of the citizens. It broadens their ideas, strengthens their confidence, promotes the spirit of friendly coöperation and rivalry, awakens a commendable ambition, and encourages effort in the utilization of all forces and processes of production.

The World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago was the forerunner of this less general but more permanent contribution to the world's economic advance. Many of the Chicago exhibits here remain intact, and have been intelligently supplemented to such an extent that the management of the Philadelphia Museums make the proud claim that their exhibition is the most complete and extensive of its class now in existence.

Not only has a wonderful demonstration been made of the products and advancement of our country, but of those of all the American republics. A spirit of friendly and mutually advantageous interchange and coöperation has been exemplified, which is in itself an inspiring help not only to trade and commerce, but to international comity and good will.

Good will precedes good trade.

The producer and consumer of both continents are here brought together in close touch, and are taught to work together for the common weal. In order that new markets may be opened and a larger trade profitably conducted, the manufacturer must have the opportunity of becoming familiar with the character of the goods desired by the consumer. And so, too, the consumer should have the opportunity to examine the goods which the manufacturer is anxious to dispose of to him.

It follows, then, that a recognized central institution of real stability such as this is, whose integrity of management cannot be questioned, with ample means can be made of inestimable advantage not only to a generation in a single country, but to a whole continent and for the vast future. Ability as well as capital is essential to the success of trade, and fortunately with both of these the Museums are well equipped. It is said that the data which can here be found ready for quick and accurate reference are obtainable to a degree not even attempted anywhere else in the world.

Under the circumstances, and even at this early date, it is not too much to say that a movement of this kind is, in its general scope, national—aye, and more than that, international—in character, and to predict that its success, if wisely conducted, will surprise even its most enthusiastic friends and founders. Resting upon business principles, looking solely to the welfare of the country at large, benefiting other nations as well as our own, the intent and realization of this world's industrial object-lesson are in accord with the best spirit of the age and worthy of the good will and helpfulness of every patriotic American.

I assure the promoters of this enterprise of the deep interest of our government and the people in its success. I congratulate the citizens of Philadelphia, justly renowned for the Centennial Exposition, which first demonstrated to the world the marvelous development of our resources, that to them have been intrusted the eare and completion of this great work.

Well and far-sightedly has this municipality acted in

creating the new institution as practically a separate department of its government. With liberal appropriations of money and the gift of a valuable site, the people of this city, the birthplace of American liberty, have once more demonstrated their patriotic spirit and purpose, calling into fellowship and counsel representatives of the chief commercial bodies of this continent. The United States is a grateful debtor to Philadelphia. She contributed immeasurably to the triumph of liberty; she would now aid in the triumphs of labor.

Who can doubt that the deliberations of these able and public-spirited men, acting together freely and cordially, animated by a common impulse and a common interest, will result in still closer relations of international comity and a higher prosperity for all?

May God's blessing rest upon this worthy enterprise and upon those who shall labor for its welfare.

I now declare the Philadelphia Museums formally opened.

VIII.

- Speech at the Banquet given by the Philadelphia Museums and the Manufacturers' Club at the Bourse, Philadelphia, June 2, 1897.
- Dr. Pepper, Gentlemen of the Manufacturers' Club, Delegates to the International Convention, Ladies and Gentlemen:

For the cordiality of your reception I am indeed grateful, although from my experiences in this great city it is not altogether surprising and unexpected. [Applause.] A recent visit to your city gave me an opportunity to feel the welcome heart-touch of the people of Philadelphia and enjoy their boundless hospitality. [Great applause.]

I must tell you that from first to last I have been deeply impressed with the scenes witnessed in this eity to-day: the remarkable spectacle of the representatives of all the American republics, with the products of their skill and their soil in one common warehouse for comparison and observation, thanks to Dr. Pepper and the Philadelphia Museums. [Great applause.]

The first great convention of these republies was organized by the matchless diplomacy of that splendid American, James G. Blaine. [Cheers and tremendous applause.] Seven years ago he brought the governments of this continent together, and taught the doctrine that genuine reciprocity in trade required reciprocity of information. [Great applause.]

And it was the genius of the many gentlemen I see around this board to-night that originated the Bureau of American Republics, located in the capital city, which has already done much good, and which, I believe, will yet play an increasingly important part in our trade relations with the governments supporting it. [Cheers and applause.]

My fellow-citizens, there is no use in making a product if you cannot find somebody to take it. [Applause.] The maker must find a taker. [Applause.] You will not employ labor to make a product unless you can find a buyer for that product after you have made it. [Cheers and applause.]

I am glad to meet the representatives of the Ameri-

can republics here to-night. I am glad to meet the representatives of all the governments of the world here to-night. I have met the manufacturers of Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania before. [Applause and laughter.] I met you in the day of your highest prosperity. [Prolonged cheering.] I now meet you in this your hour of somewhat prolonged adversity.

But let me tell you, my countrymen, that resuscitation will not be promoted by recrimination. [Applause.] The distrust of the present will not be relieved by a distrust of the future. [Applause.] A patriot makes a better eitizen than a pessimist. [Great applause.] And we have got to be patient. [Applause.] Much as we want to move out of the old house, we cannot do it until the new one is finished. [Cheers and applause.]

A tariff law half made is of no practical use except to indicate that in a little while a whole tariff law will be done [applause], and it is making progress [great applause]. It is reaching the end, and when the end comes we will have business confidence and industrial activity. [Renewed applause.] Let us keep steady heads and steady hearts. [Applause.] The country is not going backward, but forward. [Applause.] American energy has not been destroyed by the storms of the past. [Applause.] It will yet triumph through wise and beneficent legislation. [Great cheering.]

Philadelphians have in the past shown what busy industries and well-employed labor can do to make a great city and a contented population. [Applause.] They do not mean to accept present conditions as permanent and final. [Cheers.] They will meet embarrassments as they have bravely met them in the past, and in the end will restore industries and labor to their former condition and prosperity. [Great cheering.] And, gentlemen, Philadelphia is but a type of American pluck and purpose everywhere. [Great and prolonged applause.]

IX.

Address at the Tennessee Centennial Exposition, Nashville, June 11, 1897.

Mr. President, Officers of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition, Ladies and Gentlemen :

American nationality, compared with that of Europe and the Orient, is still very young; and yet we are already beginning to have age enough for centennial anniversaries in States other than the original thirteen. Such occasions are always interesting, and when celebrated in a practical way, are useful and instructive. Combining retrospect and review, they recall what has been done by State and nation, and point out what yet remains for both to accomplish in order to fulfil their highest destiny.

This celebration is of general interest to the whole country, and of special significance to the people of the South and West. It marks the end of the first century of the State of Tennessee, and the close of the first year of its second century.

One hundred and one years ago this State was admitted into the Union as the sixteenth member in the great family of American commonwealths. It was a

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welcome addition to the national household—a community young, strong, and sturdy, with an honored and heroic ancestry, with fond anticipations not only of its founders, but faith in its success on the part of the far-seeing and sagacious statesmen of the time in all parts of the country. I am justified in saying that these anticipations have been grandly realized, that the present of this community of sterling worth is even brighter than prophets of the past had dared to forecast it.

The builders of the State, who had forced their way through the trackless forests of this splendid domain. brought with them the same high ideals and fearless devotion to home and country, founded on resistance to oppression, which have everywhere made illustrious the American character. Whether it was the territory of Virginia or that of North Carolina mattered little to They came willing and eager to fight for indethem. pendence and liberty, and in the War of the Revolution were ever loval to the standard of Washington. When their representatives served in the Colonial Assembly of North Carolina they chose - for the first time in our country, so far as I know-the great name of Washington for the district in which they lived, and at the close of the Revolution sought to organize their territory into a State, to be known as the State of Franklin, in grateful homage to the name of another of its most distinguished patriot commoners.

Spain had sought to possess their territory by right of discovery as a part of Florida. France claimed it by right of cession as a part of Louisiana, and England as hers by conquest. But neither contention could for an instant be recognized. Moved by the highest instincts of self-government, guided by conscience and the loftiest motives of patriotism, under gallant old John Sevier, at King's Mountain, your forefathers bravely vindicated their honor and gloriously won their independence.

Thus came the new State, second only then of the now mighty West and Southwest. And it has made a wonderful history for itself. Tennessee has sometimes been called the "mother of Southwestern statesmen." It furnished us the immortal Jackson, whose record in war and whose administration in peace as the head of the great republic shine on with the advancing years. The century has only added to the luster of his name, increased the obligations of his countrymen, and exalted him in their affectionate regard. Polk and Johnson also were products of this great State, and many more heroes of distinguished deeds, whose names will come unbidden to your memories while I speak.

Tennesseeans have ever been volunteer, not drafted, patriots. In 1846, when twenty-four hundred soldiers were called for, thirty thousand loyal Tennesseeans offered their services; and amid the trials and terrors of the great Civil War, under conditions of peculiar distress and embarrassment, her people divided on contending sides. But upon whichever side found, they fought fearless of sacrifice or death. Now, happily, there are no contending sides in this glorious commonwealth, or in any part of our beloved country. The men who opposed each other in dreadful battle a third of a century ago are once more and forever united in heart and purpose under one flag in a neverto-be broken Union.

The glory of Tennessee is not alone in the brilliant names it has contributed to history, or the heroic patriotism displayed by the people in so many crises of our national life; but its material and industrial wealth. social advancement, and population are striking and significant in their growth and development. Thirtyfive thousand settlers in this State in 1790 had increased to one million one hundred and nine thousand in 1860, and to-day it has a population closely approximating two million. Its manufactures, which in 1860 were small and unimportant, in 1890 had reached seventy-two million dollars in value, while its farm products now aggregate more than sixty-two million dollars annually. Its river commerce on three great international waterways, its splendid railways operating nearly three thousand miles of road, its mineral wealth of incalculable value, form a splendid augury for the future. I am sure no better workmen could be found than the people of Tennessee to turn these confident promises into grand realities.

Your exposition shows, better than any words of mine can tell, the details of your wealth of resources and power of production. You have done wisely in exhibiting these to your own people and to your sister States, and at no time could the display be more effective than now, when what the country needs more than all else is restored confidence in itself. This exposition demonstrates directly your own faith and purpose, and signifies in the widest sense your true and unfailing belief in the irrepressible pluck of the American people, and is a promising indication of the return of American prosperity.

The knowledge which this beautiful and novel exposition gives will surely develop your trade, increase your output, enlarge your fields of employment, promote inventive competition, and extend your markets, and so eventually pay for all it cost, as well as justify local sentiment and encourage State pride.

Men and women I see about me from all parts of the country, and thousands more will assemble here before the exposition is closed. Let us always remember that whatever differences about politics may have existed, or still exist, we are all Americans before we are partizans, and cherish the welfare of all the people above party or State. Citizens of different States, we yet love all the States; and in turn all the States, by ties of interest, affection, and immortal memories, are attached to the nation with unfailing and unceasing love.

The lesson of the hour, then, is this: to be faithful to our opportunities in our several spheres, never forgetting that not one citizen or several citizens have the sole care of our government, but all the citizens of all the States are equally responsible for its progress and preservation, and all are equal recipients of good or ill. Hopefully looking into the future, let us firmly resolve that whatever adverse conditions may temporarily impede our national progress, nothing shall permanently stay or defeat it.

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Speech to The Vermont Fish and Game League, at Isle La Motte, Vermont, August 6, 1897.

Mr. Toastmaster and my Fellow-Citizens :

I wish I had fitting words to respond to this gracious welcome and this most generous hospitality. I can only say I reciprocate the sentiment expressed by the song. [Cries of "Good!"] I like Vermont; I like her people. I am never in the presence of a New England audience that I do not recall that the civilization of New England penetrates every State and Territory of the American Union; and I do not forget that wherever New England civilization is found, loyal and patriotic American men and women are found.

One of the things I promised myself when I left the eity of Washington was that I would not make a speech. One of the assurances that I received from the officers of the Fish and Game League was that I would not be required to make a speech; but from what I have heard of this league I am prepared to believe almost anything of it. [Applause.]

As Americans we have a right to rejoice in our glorious civilization. I say to Vermonters and say to all New England that to them this country owes much—more than it can ever repay—for the self-governing principle they have sent through all the States of the Union. [Great applause.] REMARKS AT PROCTOR, VERMONT, AUGUST 12, 1897.

Fellow-Citizens :

It gives me great pleasure to respond for a moment to the cordial welcome which you have given me this evening. I recall with the greatest satisfaction my visit to this place five years ago, and I am glad to renew your acquaintance here to-night. I am glad to see about me so many, not only of the men and women, but of the boys and girls of Proctor. There is in it all the suggestion of the family, where virtue prevails-the greatest of all virtues, the home virtue, upon which is founded our free institutions. I trust we may always preserve the purity of our American homes. From this comes good citizenship, and from it I see the glory of our country. I am glad to enjoy the entertainment of your distinguished fellow-citizen and my friend [Senator Proctor], and to renew my friendship with you. [Great applause.]

XII.

Speech to Assemblage at Railway-Station, Syracuse, New York, August 24, 1897.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I am extremely pleased to visit your city, and I appreeiate your generous welcome. This is a year when in a very marked degree patriotism is being exalted and

patriots are being honored. In the month of April, in the city of New York, the people of that metropolis dedicated a magnificent mausoleum to that greatest of all the great soldiers of the Civil War, General Ulysses S. Grant. [Great applause.] In May following, in the city of Philadelphia, there was unveiled an equestrian statue to that greatest soldier of the Revolution. General George Washington [great applause]; and only a few days ago, in the inland metropolis in the State of Illinois. there was unveiled a superb monument to that great volunteer soldier, the hero of two wars, General John A. Logan. [Great applause.] This week the Empire State of New York is laving at the feet of the largest patriotic body in the world its tribute of affection for the conspicuous services rendered in the Civil War by the Grand Army of the Republic. [Great applause.] We cannot exalt patriotism too high; we cannot too much encourage love of country; for, my fellow-citizens, as long as patriotism exists in the hearts of the American people. so long will our matchless institutions be secure and permanent. [Great applause.]

XIII.

REMARKS FROM BALCONY OF HOTEL AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK, AUGUST 24, 1897.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I come to greet you and to thank you at the same time for your generous welcome. The Grand Army of the Republic seems to be on foot to-day, but not carrying arms. These were long since laid aside, and the Grand Army of the Republic is to-day dedicated to peace and the Union forever. I am glad to be in the city of Buffalo with my comrades of '61 and '65, and my comrades now. [Great applause.]

XIV.

Speech at Banquet of Ellicott Club, Buffalo, New York, August 24, 1897.

Mr. Toastmaster and Comrades and my Fellow-Citizens :

I wish I might frame fitting words to make suitable response to the more than gracious welcome which you have accorded me here to-night. I come with no set form of speech, I come with no studied phrases to present to you, but in the spirit of comradeship [great applause], to talk with you as we have often talked in the past, around the camp-fires in war as well as the camp-fires in peace. [Applause.] To me, I see by the program, has been assigned the toast, "The Country and its Defenders." My fellow-citizens, blessed is that country whose defenders are patriots. [Applause.]

Blessed is that country whose soldiers fight for it and are willing to give the best they have, the best that any man has,—their own lives,—to preserve it, because they love it. [Applause.] Such an army the United States has always commanded in every crisis of its history. [Applause.] From the War of the Revolution to the late Civil War, the men followed that flag in battle, because they loved it and believed in what it represented. [Applause.] That was the stuff of which the volunteer army of '61 was made. [Applause.] Every one of them not only fought, but thought. [Applause.] And many of them did their own thinking [laughter and applause], and did not always agree with their commanders. [Laughter and applause.]

You recall that young soldier in the late war, upon the battle-line, ahead with the color-guard, bearing the Stars and Stripes way in front of the line, but the enemy still in front of him. The general called out to the color-bearer, "Bring those colors back to the line"; and, quicker than any bullet, the young soldier answered back, "Bring the line up to the colors." [Prolonged applause.]

It was the voice of command; there was a man behind it, and there was patriotism in his heart.

And so more than two million brave men thus responded, and made up an army grander than any army that ever shook the earth with its tread [applause], and engaged in as holy a cause as soldiers ever fought for. [Applause.] What defenders, my countrymen, have we now? We have the remnant of this old, magnificent, matchless army of which I have been speaking, and then, as allies in any future war, we have the brave men who fought against us on Southern battle-fields. [Great applause.]

/ The army of Grant and the army of Lee are together. [Applause.] They are one now in faith, in hope, in fraternity, in purpose, and in an invincible patriotism. [Applause.] And, therefore, the country is in no danger. [Applause.] In justice strong, in peace secure, and in devotion to the flag all one. [Great applause.]

Speech at G. A. R. Camp-Fire, Asbury Church, Buffalo, New York, August 24, 1897.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

The saddest part of the reunion of the old soldiers of the army is that at every annual encampment we miss many familiar faces. Our comrades are diminishing with the passing years; the circle is narrowing, and every annual roll-call discloses one and still another not present, but accounted for. They have gone from human sight; they have passed from association with us here; they have gone to join the great majority of that army with which they were so long associated, and they sleep to-night upon another shore. Grant has gone, Sherman and Sheridan and Thomas and McPherson and Logan, and a long list besides, rich in precious memories. And not only have the great commanders gone, but the rank and file of that splendid army have joined their old commanders on the other shore. It is our duty, it is our business, to perpetuate their memories; to preserve and improve and strengthen and glorify the institutions for which they fought and for which they gave their lives.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for this moment that you have given me to pay my respects to that noble army of volunteers. [Great applause.]

XVI.

SPEECH AT G. A. R. CAMP-FIRE, DELAWARE AVENUE M. E. CHURCH, BUFFALO, NEW YORK, AUGUST 24, 1897.

Gentlemen :

I have come to this presence to-night that I might pay my respects to my old comrades, and lay at their feet my tribute of love and appreciation.

It has been thirty-six years since the beginning of the great Civil War, and thirty-two years since its close. It seems not so long nor so far away, and when we remember that more than a million of the soldiers of that war still survive, and that in this noble city to-night are representatives of that grand army that fought for human liberty in as noble a cause as any in which mankind ever engaged, it seems almost impossible that we are a third of a century from the close of the great struggle. When the war commenced we had no conception of its length. and we had less conception of the great results which were to follow from that struggle. We thought that the Union to be saved was the Union as it was, forgetting that wars and revolutions cannot be prescribed and the circle of their influence determined in advance. Nobody believed—I mean of the great mass of the people-that with the end of that war would be the end of human slavery. But not from men was our issue; from Him who is a sovereign of land and of sea came our ordeal of battle, that men might be free. And as the result of that great civil struggle we have

the greatest government because we have the freest government, and we have the freest government because we have an equal government, governed equally by equal citizens everywhere. [Applause.] And it is the business of the living, it is the business of the citizen, it is the business of the men and the women in every part of our common country, to cultivate the highest and best citizenship; for upon it rests the destiny of our government. [Applause.]

I must be excused, my fellow-citizens, from attempting to do more at this time than to express my gratification at being permitted to mingle again with the old soldiers of the war, and to congratulate them that they have assembled this year in the city of Buffalo, which is giving to them such boundless hospitality. [Great applause.]

XVII.

Speech at the Reunion of the Twenty-third Ohio Regiment, at Fremont, Ohio, September 2, 1897.

Mr. President, my Comrades, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I am glad to meet my fellow-citizens of my native State that I love so well and which has so much and so long honored me. [Cheers.] I am glad to meet with you in the city of Fremont, about the hearthstone of our old commander, now gone, whom we all loved so much. [Cheers.] On behalf of my comrades of the Twentythird Ohio I want to thank the mayor and the people of the city for the gracious hospitality they have given us to-day.

My comrades, the memories of the war are sweeter

than service in the war. [Laughter.] It is a good deal pleasanter and very much safer to fight our battles o'er as we are doing to-day than it was to fight them from '61 to '65. But we could not have had these glorious memories if we had not rendered the service—a service rendered in freedom's cause, and for a country that is forever saved. We had a good regiment, but there were nearly two hundred good regiments from our good State [cheers], and there were two million men and upward just like you from all of the Northern States and Territories of the Union, who were willing to do and die for the government and for the flag. [Cheers.]

We had a good regiment; first, because we had good private soldiers, and second, because we had good commanders. Every one of our ten companies was well officered. And then, think of the field- and staffofficers that the Twenty-third Regiment had—no better anywhere in the service. That great tactician, that magnificent disciplinarian, that leader of armies, General William S. Rosecrans. [Cheers.] God bless him! Let that be our prayer here to-day as our love goes out to him in his distant home in California.

And so officers and men made the Twenty-third a splendid regiment. But it was the rank and file of that regiment that, after all, gave it its glory. This old flag [pointing to the regimental flag which stood before him] was never shot down that a hundred men did not fly to pick it up and lift it aloft. [Cheers.] You did your duty; that is all that anybody can do. The Union soldiers all did their duty. That is honor enough, but the glory of it is that we have a reunited, a recreated country. [Cheers.] That is the price of your sacrifice; and to-day, instead of having sectional divisions beneath this flag, we have none. They are all obliterated, and the men who fought for this flag and the men who opposed it, on the many battle-fields of the South, are now forever united in faith and friendship for its defense. [Cheers.]

No man can look on this great American audience to-day and not feel that the country's institutions are safe. There is a flag in the hand of every child, and patriotism in every man's heart. [Cheers.]

But, my fellow-citizens, it is not the business of the presiding officer to make a speech. I have already talked to you too long. We have an army—most of them retired, it is true—of distinguished orators on this platform here to-day. I have the very great pleasure now of presenting to this audience an old comrade, a distinguished soldier, commanding a Michigan regiment, once the commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic (the most patriotic body on earth), the present Secretary of War, General Russell A. Alger. [Applause.]

XVIII.

Speech at State Fair, Columbus, Ohio, September 3, 1897.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It is almost a hopeless task to undertake to make myself heard by this assemblage. After more than eighteen months of absence from the capital city of my State, it is peculiarly gratifying to me to return to these beautiful agricultural grounds to meet my old friends and fellow-eitizens, with whom, for so many years, I have been associated. If I had been asked to select a greeting most agreeable to myself, it would have been that greeting which the committee has prepared of the children of the schools of the State assembled on these grounds to-day. [Applause.]

The presence of forty thousand school-children commands our affection and inspires our hope; and I congratulate the children of Ohio that they enjoy exceptional opportunities for education at the hands of the government of the State. No other State has higher common-school advantages than the State of Ohio; and it is gratifying to remember that half a million children every day in our State crowd the door-steps of our public schools in search of knowledge to fit them for the grave and responsible duties of life.

There is one thing of which the United States can proudly boast, and that is our great public-school system, where the boys and girls from every walk of life assemble in full equality and enjoy equally with all their fellows all the advantages of public instruction.

I am glad to meet these school-children to-day. Children's day it is to you now, but in a little while it will be citizens' day with all of you. Upon you in a little while will rest the duty as well as the responsibility of carrying on the great political fabric established by the fathers, and bearing the banner they have so proudly borne in the past. [Great applause.]

God bless the school-children of Ohio! God bless the school-children of America, and guide them to intelligence and virtue and morality and patriotism; and with these elements dominating our citizenship, our institutions are safe and our republic will be glorious forever. [Great applause.]

XIX.

Speech at Akron, Ohio, September 4, 1897.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I could not for a moment think of having you all so far away from me when you are all so near my heart. It seems like coming back home to come to the city of Akron. For more than twenty years I have enjoyed the friendship and confidence of the people of this city and of the county of Summit. I am glad to be with you here, if only for a moment, that I may look into your happy and hopeful faces. On this very spot I have seen great assemblages of my fellow-citizens. I have been welcomed by you many times in the past, but no welcome you have ever given me was so grateful to my heart as the one here to-day.

We are all of us Americans. We are all of us for our country, for its prosperity and its glory; and, in the short time I have allotted to me, I can only wish for all of you health and peace and happiness, the realization of your highest aspirations, and that your industry and thrift may have their greatest rewards. [Great applause.]

XX.

REMARKS AT CANTON, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 4, 1897.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I do not know what I can say to this great concourse of my fellow-townsmen, except that I am glad to be with you once more, to look into these familiar faces and to hear the music of this band that is a credit and a delight not only to the city of Canton, but to all the cities and communities which it visits.

It gave me peculiar pleasure to hear this band and to hear of it words of commendation from all quarters. I am glad, my fellow-citizens, to be at home again. I am glad for this manifestation of your good will. [Great applause.]

XXI.

REMARKS TO THE LINCOLN CLUB, SOMERSET, PENNSYLVANIA, SEPTEMBER 9, 1897.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I am both pleased and honored to meet my friends of Somerset County, and to acknowledge the gracious compliment of this call and serenade on the part of the Lincoln Club of Somerset. [Cheers.] I am glad to meet my countrymen, irrespective of party [cheers], for all of us are interested in the welfare, prosperity, and grandeur of our common country. [Cheers.]

I wish for all of you happiness in your lives and in your homes, prosperity in the occupations which may engage you, and with all of you I wish for the progress and glory of the United States. [Loud cheers.]

After home, our first concern is country, and our country, with its splendid institutions and its great possibilities, is safe so long as virtue resides in the home and patriotism abides in the hearts of the people. [Prolonged applause.]

XXII.

REMARKS AT THE RECEPTION OF R. P. CUMMINS POST, G. A. R., SOMERSET, PENNSYLVANIA, SEPTEMBER 10, 1897.

Comrades :

Nothing can be more grateful to me than to receive this honor and compliment from my old comrades of the war. I never look into the faces of the old soldiers who braved the dangers of that time that I am not touched deeply, and it gives me peculiar pleasure to meet and greet those gathered here to-night. I shall be glad to shake the hand of each one of you, if it be your wish. I discover that the population of Somerset is constantly increasing. [Laughter and applause.]

XXIII.

Speech at the Hoosac Valley Agricultural Society Fair, North Adams, Massachusetts, September 22, 1897.

My Fellow-Citizens :

This unexpected incident of my visit to the Berkshire Hills is especially gratifying to me, because it gives me the pleasure and opportunity of meeting the people of Massachusetts and expressing in their presence my regard for them and their noble State. [Applause.]

A great State is a valued inheritance, all the more

when it has for its support an illustrious past. This you have in as great measure as any commonwealth in the Union. [Applause.] No other has a prouder history; no other carries more priceless memories; no other commands greater respect and 'veneration. Loving liberty, and enjoying its blessed privileges yourselves, you have not been unmindful of others, but have greatly aided in securing it for those less fortunate. [Applause.] You have been a mighty force in the upbuilding and progress of the republic from the beginning, and your influence has been unfailing for all that is good in government and all that is exalted in citizenship. [Great applause.]

The New England home is no longer confined to New England. It has been established in every part of the country, and from it go out good thoughts and deeds, good men and women, helpful in sustaining our glorious fabric of government, and advancing justice, liberty, and peace among men. [Applause.] God bless and prosper the American home and the American people! Upon these rest the strength and virtue and permanence of the nation, which we pray our heavenly Father to ever have in his sacred keeping.

XXIV.

Remarks at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, September 24, 1897.

Mr. Mayor and Fellow-Citizens :

I desire to express my appreciation of the gracious welcome which you have given me as I journeyed through your eity on my way to Lenox. One of the most gratifying conditions to be found to-day is that feeling of amity and friendship and fraternity existing in all sections of our country. These boys and these girls, whom I see around me in such vast numbers, must in a little while take upon themselves the duty of citizenship. We have to-day a Union stronger and better and firmer than it ever was before, and if these young people continue the morality and virtue practised in their youth, I know they will be prepared to carry forward this great Union to still greater glories. [Great applause.]

XXV.

Speech on the Occasion of the Laying of the Corner-Stone of the Memorial and Library Building, Adams, Massachusetts, October 1, 1897.

Mr. Commander, my Comrades and Fellow-Citizens :

It has given me very great pleasure to participate with the citizens of Adams in this memorial service, which will ever be remembered by the people of this town, because it is intended to perpetuate patriotism and is their testimony to patriotic devotion. You have authorized the erection of this statue that you may commemorate the services and sacrifices of the brave men who went out from this community more than thirty years ago, willing to give the best they had and all they had that the Union might be preserved, and the flag continue to float in honor. Every memorial building erected to the soldiers of the war is a monument to duty well done, and is a lesson in patriotism to the generations that are

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to follow. I rejoice with you to-day that the men for whom this monument is to be builded did not die in vain; that the Union for which they fought and for which they fell is stronger, grander, and more enduring than ever; and it is with you, with the living and those who are to come after—it is for them to carry forward this government, and lift it to still greater achievements. [Great applause.]

XXVI.

REMARKS IN THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CINCINNATI, OCTOBER 29, 1897.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It gives me very sincere pleasure to be greeted once more by this representative body of business men, the Chamber of Commerce of Cincinnati. Of the many things that are gratifying to us in this country of ours, nothing gives me greater pleasure than the unity of feeling and the fraternal spirit everywhere manifested —in the North and in the South. Love of country, attachment to our free institutions, are everywhere apparent.

But I am here not to speak, but to meet the public, which it will give me great pleasure to do. [Great applause.]

XXVII.

Speech at the Dinner of the Commercial Club of Cincinnati, Saturday, October 30, 1897.

Members of the Commercial Club and Guests :

Appreciating the purposes of the Commercial Club, I account myself fortunate to be its guest to-night, with the privilege of meeting old and valued friends, whose support and confidence have encouraged me and still encourage me in the performance of public duty. Cincinnati has for me the pleasantest associations and memories, and I may be pardoned if I have a feeling of home-coming as I stand in this presence in the chief city of the State where I was born, receiving your warm welcome, and knowing it to be sincere.

There is even more that is gratifying to me in this assemblage, because it represents men of all parties and creeds, united in a common aim, and a most worthy one—that of promoting good government and disseminating those ideas which will best insure the honor and prosperity of the country. We gain by intelligent discussion of public questions carried on, in an organization like yours, not from a standpoint of partizanship, but of good eitizenship.

What will make the nation strongest and best; what will make its citizenship the most useful and effective in government? These are inquiries ever pressing for answer with every thoughtful man. What will arouse public and private conscience to the just appreciation of our civic obligations is the vital erced of your organization and the deep concern of us all. Nothing makes more for the government than intelligent and virtuous citizenship. It is the foundation of governmental success, and is essential to the highest destiny of the republic. It should start in the home and be taught in the schools. It should have the inspiration of example in public and private stations. The public officer should illustrate it in his life and show it in the administration of his public duties.

One great element in the strength of any government is the patriotism of its people, their love for its institutions, their pride for its name and achievements. This element finds a field for exceptional development in the United States. We have everything to inspire good citizenship, because we have equal and responsible citizenship. Responsible citizenship comes from direct participation in the conduct of the government, and imposes equal responsibility upon every citizen. If we could quicken and increase appreciation of this responsibility, and every citizen were made to feel its weight and importance, it would go far toward improving our political and national life.

The government and people are inseparable under our system. We could not separate the government from the people if we would, and we would not if we could. This unity is the strength of our political structure. Our public policies and our public laws are properly determined by the people. The people, therefore, have every incentive to noble purpose and right action in government. They are the beneficiaries of the government, and have every reason to love our institutions and regard our laws, because they make and support them. There is no greater enemy to free government than careless and indifferent citizenship; there is no better friend than the vigilant, enlightened, and patriotic citizen.

Not only are we interested in these fundamental elements which constitute the national strength, but we have a deep interest in the material development of the country. No subject can better engage our attention than the promotion of trade and commerce at home and abroad. Domestic conditions are sure to be improved by larger exchanges with the nations of the world. We are already reaching out with good results. Our surplus products of agriculture and manufacture are finding a foreign market, and in the latter case to a degree which would not have been believed possible a quarter of a century ago. We have made wonderful progress in this direction, and have only just begun. Our manufactured products go to every nation of the world, and I hope the time may be not far distant when our ships, under the Stars and Stripes, will be on every sea where commerce is carried and the wants of mankind are to be supplied.

Commerce is a teacher and a pacificator. It gives mankind knowledge one of another. Reciprocity of trade promotes reciprocity of friendship. Good trade insures good will. The heart as well as the mind contributes directly to the progress of mankind, and wherever we secure just and fair commercial relations with other nations we are sure to have with them friendly political relations.

Abating none of our interest in the home market, let us move out to new fields steadily and increase the sale for our products in foreign markets. It should be our settled purpose to open trade wherever we can, making

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our ships and our commerce messengers of peace and amity.

The consular service of the government should be closely scrutinized and carefully officered, and we should have at every commercial port of the world a sensible and practical American who, while discharging all his other duties with honor to the government, will not omit in every proper way to promote American exchanges and encourage reciprocal trade.

Finally, if we are entering upon an era of prosperity such as many believe and all fervently hope for, remembering our recent panic and financial experiences, we should strengthen the weak places in our financial system, and remove it forever from ambiguity and doubt.

XXVIII.

Speech to the Commercial Travelers' Association and Employees of Dueber Heights, Canton, Ohio, November 1, 1897.

Gentlemen of the Commercial Travelers' Association, and Employees of Dueber Heights, and my Fellow-Citizens: It gives me great pleasure to be back at my old home again, and to receive at the hands of my fellow-citizens the warm and cordial and, I am sure, heartfelt welcome with which they greet me to-night. I am glad to be assured by the spokesmen who have addressed me that these for whom they speak give approval to the national administration with which I have been associated by the partiality of your suffrages given last year. [Applause.] I assure you, my fellow-citizens, that when I entered upon my public duties I had but one aim, but one purpose—the good of my country and the welfare of my countrymen. [Applause.]

And nothing could be more gratifying to me, nothing could be more encouraging to me, nothing could stimulate me to greater effort, than to be assured by felloweitizens, as I have been assured by them to-night, that they are now employed and have steady work. [Prolonged cheering.]

I am deeply interested in the prosperity of my home eity, and the greater the prosperity the greater will be my satisfaction. [Applause.]

I will detain you in this inclement weather only long enough to assure you that from my heart I thank you for this generous welcome. [Great cheering.]

XXIX.

Address at the Carnegie Library, Pittsburg, Wednesday, November 3, 1897.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

It is a great pleasure for me now, as always, to visit Pittsburg, one of the great eities of a commonwealth elosely in touch with my native State of Ohio, and its near neighbor, in whose borders I have so frequently and cordially been received. The people of the two communities know one another well, and exemplify, as perfectly as can be found anywhere in the Union, that spirit of fraternal regard and free interchange of ideas and products which forms the very essence and glory of the American system of government.

But to-day I have not come, as has often been the case, to discuss economic questions, but rather as an interested observer to witness in person and testify to that great and successful undertaking made possible by the munificence of one of your best-known citizens and the generous neighbors whom he has interested in his They have conferred upon the municipality of work. Pittsburg the proud privilege of being noted not simply as one of the greatest industrial centers of the country. but hereafter to rank as one of the great literary, art. musical, and educational cities of the United States. But more than this and infinitely better: what has been done here, and all that still remains for the present and future generations to accomplish in perfecting this noble library and its allied branches of culture and enjoyment. is not planned simply for the select few, but the too often neglected many; not for a favored class, but for the people and all of the people. All who love knowledge, who enjoy art, who believe in progress, whose aspirations are upward, are here welcome, and will find themselves at liberty to follow their chosen pursuits in response to the founder's inscription that his donation is and shall be "Free to the People." For such was this temple reared, magnificent in its proportions and of classic beauty, with a liberality of equipment and management second to none either in the Old World or the New; and it will confer increasing and inestimable blessings not only upon this city and upon this State, but upon all the people of our country in all the years to come. It is a monument to the industry for which this city is justly famous, and the advice which I would

leave with you and which I would have you always remember is—use it!

For this splendid movement for the welfare of the people, richer and more varied in its treasures to mankind than we can now conceive, all of its departments of activity gathered together under one roof and conducted by a single, united, enthusiastic management, open to every student or citizen thirsting for knowledge. it is not too much to say that every man, woman, and child in this community is already under a heavy debt of gratitude which they can best discharge and only fittingly repay by availing themselves fully and freely of its blessings and benefits. The city itself, following the inspiring example of other great municipalities, has done wisely even from the standpoint of self-interest in adopting the great library as a child of its corporate existence, so that every citizen, from the humblest to the most exalted, has a stake in its permanence and prosperity, forming a part of his life and contributing to its welfare.

The free man cannot be long an ignorant man. The aspiration for knowledge is the corner-stone for learning and liberty. With true culture—not feigned or proud —comes goodness of heart, refinement of manners, generosity of impulse, the Christian desire of helping others, and the Christian character of charity to all. Library study, musical instruction, the cultivation of art, and the serious contemplation of the wonders of nature in rare museum collections, are a source of delight and instruction to patrons and visitors, and they help to make a better citizenship, and in so doing constitute an impregnable bulwark for law and order.

One of the most gratifying assurances which have come

to me during my brief visit to this library to-day is that the real intentions of its promoters are already being realized beyond their highest expectations. Scarcely four years have passed since the work was begun, yet the people of Pittsburg have again and again demonstrated that they are worthy of the princely generosity, and are justifying the faith and purpose of those who bestowed it by making this a real help to higher and broader attainments.

In no other nation could such a realization have been possible in so short a time. Europe and the Orient have, to be sure, their great libraries, rich galleries, wonderful museums, historical collections, and rare and ancient buildings of imposing grandeur, exquisite in architectural beauty and rejoicing in an ample financial endowment. Many of these contain priceless treasures of the ages, whose loss the world could never replace. They serve a noble purpose, they have enriched art, and will continue an inspiration to students of all lands. But none of them had such an advanced beginning as this. It is ever to the West, and more especially to our own wonderful country, that we must turn with amazement and increasing pride to witness the most rapid and triumphant march of progress, not only in the development of material resources, but in the comparative advancement and appreciation of the fine arts.

Be not content with what you have or are. Continue the enterprise with the enthusiasm you have begun it. Be true to the best ideas of this great undertaking. Do not forget its main purpose. Make it useful to the community, yourselves, and your children. Let it be an object of special honor and concern to your city. You have my congratulations upon the result of your labors and my best wishes for the continuance of their success.

I am glad to be here to-day. I have enjoyed meeting with you. It is an honor to participate in any enterprise which exalts our countrymen, which inspires them to higher endeavor and affords them greater opportunity for culture and advancement. Every movement for the edification and uplifting of the people is a factor in human destiny and a mighty force in our eivilization. May the favor of God accompany this and all such undertakings !

XXX.

Speech at the Banquet of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States, at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York, January 27, 1898.

Mr. Toastmaster, Members of the National Association of Manufacturers, and Guests :

For the cordial character of this greeting I return my grateful thanks. The genuineness of your welcome is full compensation for having left Washington at an unusually busy season in order to participate in this interesting meeting.

I scarcely need remind you that we do not meet as strangers. Neither your business organization nor your social reunions are altogether unfamiliar to me. I have been with you before, not a guest, as now, but rather in the capacity of host. I recall that, as governor of the State of Ohio, it was my pleasure to welcome you to the

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city of Cincinnati on January 22, 1895, at the initial convention of the Manufacturers' Association. I well remember the occasion. It was a cold day. You had lost everything but your pluck, or thought you had. Courage was the only friend your grief could call its own. I note with satisfaction your improved appearance You are more cheerful in countenance, more now. buoyant in spirit, more hopeful in manner, and more confident in purpose. Then, too, there are more of you here than there were at your first meeting. Distances are of course the same, but traveling has been resumed. Your speeches and resolutions at that first convention were directed mainly to the question of how to regain what you had lost in the previous years, or, if that was found impossible, then how to stop further loss. But your object now, as I gather it, is to go out and possess what you have never had before. You want to extend, not your notes, but your business. I sympathized with your purposes then; I am in full accord with your intentions now.

I ventured to say at the gathering referred to, as reported in your published proceedings, speaking both for your encouragement and from a profound conviction:

This great country cannot be permanently kept in a state of relapse. I believe we will reoccupy the field temporarily lost to us, and go out to the peaceful conquest of new and greater fields of trade and commerce. The recovery will come slowly, perhaps, but it will come, and when it does we will be steadier and will better know how to avoid exposure hereafter.

I have abated none of the faith I then expressed, and you seem to have regained yours.

National policies can encourage industry and commerce, but it remains for the people to project and carry

them on. If these policies stimulate industrial development and energy, the people can be safely trusted to do the rest. The government, however, is restricted in its power to promote industry. It can aid commerce, but not create it. It can widen and deepen its rivers, improve its harbors, and develop its great national waterways; but the ships to sail and the traffic to carry, the people must supply. The government can raise revenues by taxation in such a way as will discriminate in favor of domestic enterprises, but it cannot establish them. It can make commercial treaties opening to our manufacturers and agriculturalists the ports of other na-It can enter into reciprocal arrangements to tions. exchange our products with those of other countries. It can aid our merchant marine by encouraging our people to build ships of commerce. It can assist in every lawful manner private enterprise to unite the two oceans with a great canal. It can do all these things, and ought to do them; but with all this accomplished the result will still be ineffectual unless supplemented by the energy, enterprise, and industry of the people. It is they who must build and operate the factories, furnish the ships and cargoes for the canal and the rivers and the seas. It is they who must find the consumers and obtain trade by going forth to win it.

Much profitable trade is still unenjoyed by our people because of their present insufficient facilities for reaching desirable markets. Much of it is lost because of a lack of information and ignorance of the conditions and needs of other nations. We must know just what other people want before we can supply their wants. We must understand exactly how to reach them with least expense if we would enter into the most advantageous business relations with them. The ship requires the shipper; but the shipper must have assured promise that his goods will have a sale when they reach their destination. It is a good rule, if buyers will not come to us, for us to go to them. It is our duty to make American enterprise and industrial ambition, as well as achievement, terms of respect and praise, not only at home, but among the family of nations the world over.

There is another duty resting upon the national government—"to coin money and regulate the value thereof." This duty requires that our government shall regulate the value of its money by the highest standards of commercial honesty and national honor. The money of the United States is and must forever be unquestioned and unassailable. If doubts remain, they must be removed. If weak places are discovered, they must be strengthened. Nothing should ever tempt us nothing ever will tempt us—to scale down the saered debt of the nation through a legal technicality. Whatever may be the language of the contract, the United States will discharge all of its obligations in the currency recognized as the best throughout the civilized world at the times of payment.

Nor will we ever consent that the wages of labor or its frugal savings shall be scaled down by permitting payment in dollars of less value than the dollars accepted as the best in every enlightened nation of the earth.

Under existing conditions our eitizens cannot be excused if they do not redouble their efforts to secure such financial legislation as will place their honorable intentions beyond dispute. All those who represent, as you do, the great conservative but progressive business interests of the country, owe it not only to themselves, but to the people, to insist upon the settlement of this great question now, or else to face the alternative that it must be again submitted for arbitration at the polls. This is our plain duty to more than seven million voters who, fifteen months ago, won a great political battle on the issue, among others, that the United States government would not permit a doubt to exist anywhere concerning the stability and integrity of its currency, or the inviolability of its obligations of every kind. That is my interpretation of that victory. Whatever effort, therefore, is required to make the settlement of this vital question clear and conclusive for all time, we are bound in good conscience to undertake and, if possible, realize. That is our commission—our present charter from the people.

It will not suffice for citizens nowadays to say simply that they are in favor of sound money. That is not enough. The people's purpose must be given the vitality of public law. Better an honest effort with failure than the avoiding of so plain and commanding a duty.

The difficulties in the path of a satisfactory reform are, it must be admitted, neither few in number nor slight in degree; but progress cannot fail to be made with a fair and thorough trial. An honest attempt will be the best proof of sincerity of purpose. Let us have full and free discussion. It cannot hurt, it will only help the cause. We are the last to avoid or evade it. Intelligent discussion will strengthen the indifferent and encourage the friends of a stable system of finance.

Half-heartedness never won a battle. Nations and parties without abiding principles and stern resolution to enforce them, even if it costs a continuous struggle to do so, and temporary sacrifice, are never in the highest degree successful leaders in the progress of mankind. For us to attempt nothing in the face of the prevalent fallacies and the constant effort to spread them is to lose valuable ground already won, and practically to weaken the forces of sound money for their battles of the future.

The financial plank of the St. Louis platform is still as commanding upon Republicans and those who served with them in the last campaign as on the day it was adopted and promulgated. Happily the tariff part of that platform has already been ingrafted into public statute. But that other plank, not already builded into our legislation, is of binding force upon all of us. What is it? It is sometimes well to consult our chart. What was the proclamation of 1896?

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of a law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the earth, which agreement we pledge ourselves to promote; and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be maintained. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold; and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolable the obligations of the United States, and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

This is in reality a command from the people who gave the administration to the party now in power, and who are still anxiously waiting for the execution of their free and omnipotent will by those of us who hold commissions from that supreme tribunal. I have to-night spoken in a somewhat serious strain because I believe it is due both to the membership of this association and to the conditions under which this assemblage has met. The conferences and systematic efforts of such a body of men as this are capable of infinite good to the respective communities in which the members live, and to the nation at large.

The country is now emerging from trying conditions. It is only just beginning to recover from the depression in certain lines of business, long continued and altogether unparalleled. Progress, therefore, will naturally be slow, but let us not be impatient. Rather let us exercise a just patience, and one which in time will surely bring its own high reward.

I have no fear for the future of our beloved country. While I discern in its present condition the necessity that always exists for the faithful devotion of its citizens. the history of its past is assurance to me that its course will be as it always has been through every struggle and emergency, still onward and upward. It has never suffered from any trial or been unequal to any test. Founded upon right principles, and ever faithful to them, we have nothing to fear from the vicissitudes which may lie across our pathway. The nation, founded by the fathers upon principles of virtue, morality, education, freedom, and human rights, molded by the great discussions which established its sovereignty, tried in the crucible of civil war, its integrity confirmed by the results of reconstruction, with a Union stronger and mightier and better than ever before, stands to-day, not upon shifting sands, but upon immovable foundations. Let us resolve, by our laws and by our administration of them, to maintain the rights of the citizen : to cement the Union by still closer bonds; to exalt the standards of American civilization, encourage the promotion of thrift, industry, and economy, and the homely virtues which have ennobled our people; uphold the stability of our currency and credit and the unstained honor of the government; and illustrate the purity of our national and municipal government: and then, though the rain descends and the floods come and the winds blow, the nation will stand, for it is founded upon a rock.

XXXI.

- Address to the Officers and Students of the University of Pennsylvania, Academy of Music, Philadelphia, February 22, 1898.
- Mr. Provost, Officers and Students of the University of Pennsylvania, Ladies and Gentlemen :

We celebrate here, as in every part of our country, the birthday of a great patriot, who assured the beginning of a great nation. This day belongs to patriotism and the people. But in a certain sense the University of Pennsylvania has special reasons for honoring the 22d of February. For over half a century, with ever-increasing popularity and public recognition, you have observed the occasion either as a holiday or with patriotic exercises, participated in by faculty and students. No other American institution of learning has a prouder title to the veneration of Washington's memory than this, whose foundation was laid in colonial days, nearly fifty years before Pennsylvania became a State; whose progress was largely due to the activity of Franklin and other zealous and far-seeing patriots; and whose trustees were on terms of sufficient intimacy with Washington to congratulate him upon his election to the Presidency, and to receive from him a notable reply, which has passed into the history of the times.

Washington, too, belonged to the brotherhood of the alumni of this institution, having accepted the degree of doctor of laws conferred upon him in 1783—an honor doubtless the more appreciated when he recalled the events which gave him close and peculiar attachment to the city of Philadelphia.

No wonder that your great university has made the 22d of February its most impressive ceremonial, and devoted its annual exercises to special tributes to the memory of the first President of the United States, and the patriotic themes which cluster thickly about his life and work. I rejoice with you in the day. I rejoice, also, that throughout this broad land the birthday of the patriot leader is faithfully observed, and celebrated with an enthusiasm and earnestness which testify to the virtue and gratitude of the American people.

It would not be possible, in the comparatively short time to which these exercises must to-day be limited, to follow Washington in his long and distinguished services at the head of the army and as Chief Executive of the government. My purpose is simply to call to your attention a few points in Washington's career which have singularly impressed me, and to refer to some passages in his writings that seem peculiarly appropriate for the guidance of the people, who, under our form of government, have in their keeping the well-being of the country.

In its entirety Washington's public life is as familiar

to the American student as the history of the United States. They are associated in holy and indissoluble bonds. The one is incomplete without the other; the one cannot be written without the other. Washington's character and achievements have been a part of the school-books of the nation for more than a century, and have moved American youth and American manhood to aspire to the highest ideals of responsible citizenship. With enduring fame as a great soldier, the world has recognized his equal accomplishments in the paths of statesmanship. As a soldier he was peerless in the times in which he lived, and as a statesman his rank is fixed with the most illustrious in any country or in any age.

But with all our pride in Washington we not infrequently fail to give him credit for his marvelous genius as a constructive statesman. We are constantly in danger of losing sight of the sweep and clearness of his comprehension, which accurately grasped the problems of the remote future and knew how to formulate the best means for their solution. It was committed to Washington to launch our ship of state. He had neither precedent nor predecessor to help him. He welded the scattered and at times antagonistic colonies into an indestructible Union, and inculcated the lessons of mutual forbearance and fraternity which have cemented the States into still closer bonds of interest and sympathy.

From the hour when Washington declared in his Virginia home that he would raise a thousand men and equip them at his own expense to march to the defense of Boston, he became the masterful spirit of the Continental Army, and the mightiest single factor in the struggle for liberty and independence. Apparently without personal ambition, spurning royal honors when they were suggested to him, he fulfilled a still more glorious destiny as the guiding force of a eivilization freer and mightier than the history of man had ever known.

Though Washington's exalted character and the most striking acts of his brilliant record are too familiar to be recounted here, where so many times they have received eloquent and deserved eulogy, yet often as the story is retold it engages our love and admiration and interest. We love to recall his noble unselfishness, his heroic purposes, the power of his magnificent personality, his glorious achievements for mankind, and his stalwart and unflinching devotion to independence, liberty, and union. These cannot be too often told or too familiarly known.

A slaveholder himself, he yet hated slavery, and provided in his will for the emancipation of his slaves. Not a college graduate, he was always enthusiastically the friend of liberal education. He used every suitable occasion to impress upon Congress and the country the importance of a high standard of general education, and characterized the diffusion of knowledge as the most essential element of strength in the system of free government. That learning should go with liberty, and that liberty is never endangered so long as it is in the keeping of intelligent citizens, was the ideal civic code which his frequent utterances never failed to enforce.

And how reverent always was this great man, how prompt and generous his recognition of the guiding hand of divine Providence in establishing and controlling the destinies of the colonies and the republic! Again and again—in his talks, in his letters, in his state papers and formal addresses—he reveals this side of his character, the force of which we still feel, and, I trust, we always will.

At the very height of his success and reward, as he emerged from the Revolution, receiving by unanimous acclaim the plaudits of the people, and commanding the respect and admiration of the civilized world, he did not forget that his first official act as President should be fervent supplication to the Almighty Being who rules the universe. It is he who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aid can supply every human defect. It is his benediction which we most want, and which can and will consecrate the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States. With his help the instruments of the citizens employed to carry out their purposes will succeed in the functions allotted to public life.

But Washington on this occasion went further and spoke for the people, assuming that he but voiced the sentiment of the young nation in thus making faith in Almighty God and reliance upon his favor and care one of the strong foundations of the government then inaugurated. And proceeding, Washington states the reasons for his belief in language so exalted that it should be graven deep upon the mind of every patriot:

No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States.

Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the events resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seems to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

The Senate of the United States made fitting response of its appreciation of this portion of the President's inaugural address when its members declared that "a review of the many signal instances of divine intervention in favor of this country claims our most pious gratitude," and that they were "unavoidably led to acknowledge and adore the great Arbiter of the universe, by whom empires rise and fall." Congress added its sanction by providing that, "after the oath shall have been administered to the President, he, attended by the Vice-President and the members of the Senate and House of Representatives, proceed to St. Paul's Chapel to hear divine service, to be performed by the chaplain of Congress already appointed."

Not alone upon days of thanksgiving or in times of trial should we as a people remember and follow the example thus set by the fathers, but never in our future as a nation should we forget the great moral and religious principles which they enunciated and defended as their most precious heritage. In an age of great activity, of industrial and commercial strife, and of perplexing problems, we should never abandon the simple faith in Almighty God as recognized in the name of the American people by Washington and the First Congress.

But if a timely lesson is to be drawn from the opinions of Washington on his assuming the office of President, so, also, is much practical benefit to be derived from the present application of portions of his Farewell Address, a document in which Washington laid down principles which appeared to him "all-important to the permanence of your felicity as a people."

In that address Washington contends in part (1) for the promotion of institutions of learning; (2) for cherishing the public credit; (3) for the observance of good faith and justice toward all nations.

One hundred years ago free schools were little known in the United States. There were excellent schools for the well-to-do and charitable institutions for the instruction of boys and girls without means; but the free public school, open alike to the children of the rich and poor and supported by the State, awaited creation and development. The seed planted soon bore fruit. Free schools were the necessary supplement of free men. The wise and liberal provisions for public instruction by the fathers, second only in effect to their struggle for the independence and creation of the Union, were destined at no distant date to produce the most wonderful results.

As the country has grown, education fostered by the State has kept pace with it. Rich as are the collegiate endowments of the Old World, none of them excel in munificence the gifts made to educational institutions by the people of the United States and by their governments, in conformity with "the influence which sound learning has on religion and manners, on government, liberty, and laws." Adams and Madison, Jefferson and Hamilton, Sherman and Trumbull, Hancock, Jay, Marshall, the Clintons, and many others of our early statesmen were scarcely less earnest and eloquent than Washington himself in pleading the cause of sound and liberal education for the people.

Nor does this seem surprising when we reflect that the truest aim and worthiest ambition of education is not finished scholarship for the favored few, but the elevation of a high standard of citizenship among the many. I have had peculiar satisfaction in the fact that Washington, in those early days, when engrossed with mighty governmental problems, did not forget his contributions for the education of the poor, and left in his will a bequest to be dedicated to free public instruction. Nothing better tells the value he placed upon knowledge as an essential to the highest and best citizenship.

How priceless is a liberal education! In itself what a rich endowment! It is not impaired by age, but its value increases with use. No one can employ it but its rightful owner. He alone can illustrate its worth and enjoy its rewards. It cannot be inherited or purchased. It must be acquired by individual effort. It can be secured only by perseverance and self-denial. But it is free as the air we breathe. Neither race nor nationality nor sex can debar the earnest seeker from its possession. It is not exclusive, but inclusive in the broadest and best sense. It is within the reach of all who really want it and are brave enough to struggle for it. The earnest rich and the worthy poor are equal and friendly rivals in its pursuit, and neither is exempted from any of the sacrifices necessary for its acquisition. The key to its title is not the bright allurements of rank and station, but the simple watchword of work and study.

A liberal education is the prize of individual industry. It is the greatest blessing that a man or woman can enjoy, when supported by virtue, morality, and noble aims. But the acquirement of learning in our schools and colleges seems so easy that we are apt to underestimate its value and let the opportunity to win it slip by, until regretfully we find that the chance is gone. The rudiments must be ingrafted in youth, or, with rare exceptions, they are forever lost.

Life to most is a struggle, and there is little time for the contemplation of the theoretical when the practical is pressing at every hand. Stern duty monopolizes our time. The command of others controls our preferences and often defeats our intentions. By steadily adhering to a firm purpose amid the activities of life, we may keep in touch with the literature of the day; but to go back to the classics, or to grapple with the foundations of the sciences, is beyond the power of most men when they have entered upon their chosen business or profession.

One's mental fighting, often a hand-to-hand conflict with obstacles and temptations, is a battle of his own, a campaign whose motive force is individuality rather than circumstances or luck. Work in the mental world is as real as that in the physical world. Nor has any prescription yet been found to take the place of application and self-denial and personal struggles, which have given to the world its greatest leaders and noblest achievements.

"Cherish the public credit!" How much both of reflection and instruction is combined in this simple admonition of the Father of his Country! The United States emerged from the bitter and prolonged struggle of the Revolutionary War exhausted financially, and with a hundred existing perplexities and difficulties which remained to be solved before the financial credit of the new nation could be established at home and demonstrated abroad.

But Washington knew how to gather around him, and place in positions of the greatest trust, the able financiers and economists whose names the country still venerates and whose great work it still enjoys. Hamilton and Morris and Gallatin and others were successful in establishing the Treasury and inaugurating the financial operations of this government upon principles which recognized that the most enduring basis of national credit was national honor, and that whatever other assets we might have or acquire, that was indispensable, first, last, and all the time, if we would cherish the public credit. We have been fully rewarded all along our history by adhering to the principles of Washington in keeping the public faith. Before half a century had passed we had paid off our national debt and had a balance in the Treasury. Another debt, the greatest in our history, was incurred in the Civil War for the preservation of the Union. But this did not exceed the resources or discourage the intentions of the American people. There were those who suggested repudiation, but the people repudiated them and went on unchecked, discharging the obligations of the government in the coin of honor.

From the day our flag was unfurled to the present hour, no stain of a just obligation violated has yet tarnished the American name. This must and will be as true in the future as it has been in the past. There will be prophets of evil and false teachers. Some part of the column may waver and wander away from the standard, but there will ever rally around it a mighty majority to preserve it stainless. At no point in his administration does Washington appear in grander proportions than when he enunciates his ideas in regard to the foreign policy of the government: "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct. Can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence."

To-day, nearly a century from Washington's death, we turn reverentially to study the leading principles of that comprehensive chart for the guidance of the people. It was his unflinching, immovable devotion to these perceptions of duty which more than anything else made him what he was and contributed so directly to make us what we are. Following the precepts of Washington we cannot err. The wise lessons in government which he left us it will be profitable to heed. He seems to have grasped all possible conditions and pointed the way safely to meet them. He has established dangersignals all along the pathway of the nation's march. He has warned us against false lights. He has taught us the true philosophy of "a perfect union," and shown us the grave dangers from sectionalism and wild and unreasonable party spirit. He has emphasized the necessity at all times for the exercise of a sober and dispassionate public judgment. Such judgment, my fellow-citizens, is the best safeguard in the calm of tranquil events, and rises superior and triumphant above the storms of woe and peril.

We have every incentive to cherish the memory and

teachings of Washington. His wisdom and foresight have been confirmed and vindicated after more than a century of experience. His best eulogy is the work he wrought, his highest tribute is the great republic which he and his compatriots founded. From four millions we have grown to more than seventy millions of people, while our progress in industry, learning, and the arts has been the wonder of the world. What the future will be depends upon ourselves, and that that future will bring still greater blessings to a free people I cannot doubt. With education and morality in our homes, loyalty to the underlying principles of free government in our hearts, and law and justice fostered and exemplified by those intrusted with public administration, we will continue to enjoy the respect of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God. The priceless opportunity is ours to demonstrate anew the enduring triumph of American civilization, and to help in the progress and prosperity of the land we love.

XXXII.

Address of the Powers in Regard to Existing Differences with Spain, Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C., April 6, 1898.

The undersigned, representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia, duly authorized in that behalf, address in the name of their respective governments a pressing appeal to the feelings of humanity and moderation of the President and of the American people in their existing differences with Spain. They earnestly hope that further negotiations will lead to an agreement which, while securing the maintenance of peace, will afford all necessary guaranties for the reëstablishment of order in Cuba.

The Powers do not doubt that the humanitarian and purely disinterested character of this representation will be fully recognized and appreciated by the American nation.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 6, 1898.

(Signed)	Julian Pauncefote,
	For Great Britain.
(Signed)	HOLLEBEN,
	For Germany.
(Signed)	Jules Cambon,
	For France.
(Signed)	V. HENGELMÜLLER,
	For Austria-Hungary
(Signed)	GR. DE WOLLANT,
	For Russia.
(Signed)	G. C. VINCI,
	For Italy.

REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT.

The government of the United States recognizes the good will which has prompted the friendly communication of the representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia, as set forth in the address of your Excellencies, and shares the hope therein expressed that the outcome of the situation in Cuba may be the maintenance of peace between the United States and Spain by affording the necessary guaranties for the reëstablishment of order in the island, so terminating the chronic condition of disturbance there, which so deeply injures the interests and menaces the tranquillity of the American nation by the character and consequences of the struggle thus kept up at our doors, besides shocking its sentiment of humanity.

The government of the United States appreciates the humanitarian and disinterested character of the communication now made on behalf of the Powers named, and for its part is confident that equal appreciation will be shown for its own earnest and unselfish endeavors to fulfil a duty to humanity by ending a situation the indefinite prolongation of which has become insufferable.

XXXIII.

SPEECH AT CAMP WIKOFF, MONTAUK POINT, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 3, 1898, WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER, U. S. V., COM-MANDING FIFTH ARMY-CORPS.

REMARKS OF MAJOR-GENERAL WHEELER.

Brave Soldiers :

The President of our great country has come here to-day to greet the division that marched so gallantly up San Juan hill on July 1. He comes to express the nation's thanks to these brave men, and every voice will echo the statement that there could be no greater honor for them than to incur again the same dangers and en dure the same hardships which they gloried in being privileged to undergo in the capture of Santiago.

I want to tell you that when the President sent me

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here two weeks ago to command this camp, he enjoined me, in the most emphatic language, that, without regard to expense, I should exercise any and every authority necessary to add to your comfort and restore you to health. Since the 1st of July this brave body of men by their courage have helped to raise this great republic to the highest position among the nations of the earth. I now have the honor and pleasure of introducing to you the President of the United States.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT.

General Wheeler, Soldiers of Camp Wikoff, Soldiers of the Fifth Army-Corps :

I am glad to meet you. I am honored to meet the brave men who stand before me to-day. I bring you the gratitude of the nation, to whose history you have added, by your valor, a new and glorious page. You have come home after two months of severe campaigning, which has embraced assault and siege and battle, so brilliant in achievement, so far-reaching in results as to command the unstinted praise of all your countrymen.

You had the brunt of the battle on land. You bore yourselves with supreme courage, and your personal bravery, never before excelled anywhere, has won the admiration of your fellow-citizens and the genuine respect of all mankind, while the endurance of the soldier under peculiar trial and suffering has given an added meaning to American heroism. Your victories made easy the conquest of Porto Rico, under the resistless army commanded by Major-General Miles, and behind you, ready to proceed at a moment's summons, were more than two hundred thousand of your comrades, disappointed that the opportunity which you had did not come to them, but yet filled with pride at your wellearned fame and rejoicing with you upon your signal victories. You were on the line of battle; they no less than you were in the line of duty. All have served their country in its hour of need; all will serve it so long as they are required; and all will forever have the thanks and regard of a grateful people.

We cannot bid you welcome here to-day without our hearts going out to the heroes of Manila on sea and land, whose services and sacrifices, whose courage and constancy, in that far-distant field of operations, have never been surpassed by any sailors or soldiers the world over. To the army and navy, to the marines, to the regulars, to the volunteers, and to that Providence which has watched over them all, the nation to-day is full of thanksgiving and praise. The names of the brave officers and men who fell in battle and of those who have died from exposure and sickness will live in immortal story. Their memories will be perpetuated in the hearts and history of a generous people; and those who are dependent upon them will not be neglected by the government for which they so freely sacrificed their lives. [Prolonged cheering.]

XXXIV.

REMARKS TO THE COMMISSION APPOINTED TO INVESTI-GATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, EXECUTIVE MANSION, SEPTEMBER 26, 1898.

Gentlemen :

Before suggesting the matters which shall come before you for investigation, I desire to express my appreciation to each of you for your willingness to accept the patriotic service to which you have been invited.

You are to perform one of the highest public duties that can fall to a citizen, and your unselfishness in undertaking it makes me profoundly grateful.

There has been in many quarters severe criticism of the conduct of the war with Spain. Charges of criminal neglect of the soldiers in camp and field and hospital and in transports have been so persistent that, whether true or false, they have made a deep impression upon the country. It is my earnest desire that you shall thoroughly investigate these charges, and make the fullest examination of the administration of the War Department in all of its branches, with the view to establishing the truth or falsity of these accusations. I put upon you no limit to the scope of your investigation. Of all departments connected with the army I invite the closest scrutiny and examination, and shall afford every facility for the most searching inquiry. The records of the War Department and the assistance of its officers shall be subject to your call.

I cannot impress upon you too strongly my wish that your investigation shall be so thorough and complete that your report, when made, shall fix the responsibility for any failure or fault, by reason of neglect, incompetency, or maladministration, upon the officers and bureaus responsible therefor—if it be found that the evils complained of have existed.

The people of the country are entitled to know whether or not the citizens who so promptly responded to the call of duty have been neglected or misused or maltreated by the government to which they so willingly gave their services. If there have been wrongs committed, the wrong-doers must not escape conviction and punishment.

XXXV.

REMARKS AT DE KALB, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 11, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It was no part of the program that I should be welcomed by the people of De Kalb at this hour of the morning, but I appreciate your generous welcome, and share with you in congratulations to our country and to your army and navy for the successful issues of the last four months. I am sure there has never been a time in our history when patriotism has been more marked or more universal than it is to-day, and the same high purpose which characterized the conduct of the people in war will influence and control them in the settlements of peace. [Great applause.]

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XXXVI.

Speech at Clinton, Iowa, October 11, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I have not fitting words to express my appreciation of this cordial welcome. We have gone from industrial depression to industrial activity. We have gone from labor seeking employment to employment seeking labor. [Applause.] We have abundant and unquestionable currency the world over, and we have an unsurpassed national credit—better than it has ever been before in our history.

We have, too, a good national conscience, and we have the courage of destiny. [Great applause.] We have much to be grateful for in the stirring events of the past six months. The army and navy of the United States have won not only praise, but the admiration of the world. [Cheers.]

Our achievements on land and sea are without parallel in the world's history. During all these trying months the people of the United States have stood together as one man. North and South have been united as never before. [Applause.] People who think alike in a country like ours must act together. That is what we have been doing recently, and we want to continue to act together until the fruits of our war shall be embodied in solemn and permanent settlements. [Applause.]

We want no differences at home until we have settled our differences abroad [applause]; when that is all done, we can have our little differences among ourselves. I am glad to be in the State of Iowa; I am glad to meet and be greeted by your representatives in Congress and by your honored governor, and I need not tell you how glad I am to meet my old friend, your distinguished senator [Senator Allison]. [Great applause.]

XXXVII.

REMARKS AT DEWITT, IOWA, OCTOBER 11, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I cannot be indifferent to the very generous greeting that has been given me since I entered your great State. At every point your people have made me feel entirely at home. Indeed, there is no part of this glorious country where every citizen may not feel at home. [Applause.]

XXXVIII.

Speech at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, October 11, 1898.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen :

It gives me very great pleasure to meet the citizens of Cedar, Rapids as we journey to the great Western city whither I go to celebrate with the people of the trans-Mississippi States the triumphs of their skill, their genius, and their industry. It is a fortunate situation that this people, while engaged in war, never neglect the industries of peace. And while the war was going on and we were engaged in arms against a foreign foe, the industries of the people went on, and their progress and prosperity were in no wise checked. [Great applause.]

I go thither, also, that I may celebrate with my fellowcountrymen of the West the progress of the war thus far made, the protocol already signed, and the suspension of hostilities, with the hope you and I entertain that, in the final settlements, the treaty may be one founded in right and justice and in the interest of humanity. [Applause.] This war, that was so speedily elosed through the valor and intrepidity of our soldiers, will bring us, I trust, blessings that are now beyond calculation, [Applause.] It will bring also burdens, but the American people never shirk a responsibility and never unload a burden that carries forward civilization. We accepted war for humanity. We can accept no terms of peace which shall not be in the interest of humanity. [Great applause.] That hostilities have ceased upon terms so satisfactory to the people of the United States is eause for congratulation, and calls forth sentiments of gratitude to divine Providence for those favors which he has manifested unto us, and of appreciation of the army and navy for their brilliant vietories.

Such a celebration cannot but be helpful. It will encourage love of country, and will emphasize the noble achievements of our soldiers and sailors on land and sea. War has no glories except it achieves them, and no achievements are worth having which do not advance civilization and benefit mankind. [Great applause.] While our vietories in battle have added new honors to American valor, the real honor is the substantial gain to humanity. Out of the bitterness and woe, the privations and sufferings and anxieties of the past five months, will flow benefits to the nation which may be more important than we ean now realize.

No development of the war has been more gratifying and exalting than the complete unification of the nation. Sectional lines have been obliterated; party differences have been hushed in the great chorus of patriotism which has been heard from one end of the country to the other. [Great applause.] To the Executive's call for volunteers no more prompt response was received than came from the patriotic people of the South and the West, and none was more patriotic than that of the people of And when the orders were given to advance Iowa. into a foreign territory, every soldier was disappointed whose regiment was not included in the orders to march. All were anxious to be with that portion of the army which was first to meet the enemy. Our gratitude is boundless to these brave men, and the nation will hold them in perpetual memory. [Applause.]

In paying tribute to the patriotism and valor of the men engaged in the war, we must not fail to give deserved praise to the nobility of the women. As in the war for independence and for the Union, they never hesitated or murmured, freely offering their best beloved on the altar of their country. Husbands and sons went from every walk of life, even at personal self-sacrifice in the struggle for support, and were not held back. but encouraged to respond to the sacred call of duty. Alert, generous, and practical in providing relief work, ministering where disease and death were most frequent in the camps and at the front, tenderly resigned and sublime in their submission and faith when death claimed the dearest of their household, the women of the United States, in all the nation's trials through which we have passed, have placed the government and the people under a debt of gratitude that they can never repay. [Great

applause.] They have added new glory to the rare and exquisite qualities of American womanhood. [Prolonged applause.]

XXXIX.

SPEECH AT BELLE PLAINE, IOWA, OCTOBER 11, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I am glad to meet the constituents of your honored representative, Mr. Cousins. Iowa, following the rule of the old New England States, as well as of some of the Southern States, has gained great influence in the councils of the nation by keeping men of experience on guard. And I want to say to this audience of Iowa people that through all the stirring months, from April to September, the President of the United States felt the constant and faithful support of Iowa's representatives in the Senate and House of Representatives. [Applause.] Iowa is not only great in civil council, but she is never behind when the call is made to arms. Her sons in the recent war, as well as in the great Civil War, were among the first at the front.

This war has taught us a great many lessons, and one of the most priceless connected with the conflict has been the triumph of our humanity. There have been touches of humanity in this recent war that will impress mankind for all time. In the words of the commander of the ship who said to his crew, "Don't cheer, the poor fellows are dying"; when the commander of that other ship said to his erew, "Don't fire, the flag has gone down"; in the command of the colonel of the Rough Riders, "Don't swear; fight!" we seem almost to get a glance of the divine spark in the nobility of the men who participated in our war. [Great applause.]

What we want, my fellow-citizens, is that the conclusion of this war, as written in public treaty, shall be a triumph for humanity. [Great applause.]

XL.

SPEECH AT TAMA, IOWA, OCTOBER 11, 1898.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

It gives me peculiar pleasure to meet my fellow-citizens in the home county of the Secretary of Agriculture, and I feel very much like thanking all of you for having contributed him to the country, for he has been a most valuable public servant in the administration of his great office. [Cheers.]

From April to September have been important months for us, and during that time history has been made for the United States—made by the brave men from every State in the Union, North and South, on land and on sea; and we have great cause for congratulation that hostilities were suspended at so early a date, and for the victory that came to our arms.

Now, what we want to do as a nation—and I speak to all the people—is to see to it that in the final settlement of this controversy we shall have the glorious fulfilment of the best aspirations of the American people. We want to preserve carefully all the old life of the nation,—the dear old life of the nation and our cherished institutions,—but we do not want to shirk a single responsibility that has been put upon us by the results of the war. [Great applause.]

XLI.

SPEECH AT MARSHALLTOWN, IOWA, OCTOBER 11, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It is to me most gratifying to find the people taking an interest in their government. All power rests with them, and those of us who for the moment are selected to execute their will, are but their servants. No people have greater cause for pride in their government than those of the United States. And you will be glad to know that in credit your government never stood better than now. [Applause.] You will be glad to be reminded that when it was necessary to raise money for the prosecution of the war, and a loan was sought of two hundred millions of dollars, more than fourteen hundred millions were subscribed by the people of the United States [applause], and for the first time in our history your government-my government-sells a three-per-cent. bond, a bond which sold at par, which is now worth a premium of five cents on every dollar, which profit has gone to the people. For it was a popular loan, and no citizen was able to receive more than five thousand dollars' worth of bonds. [Applause.]

I am always glad, my fellow-citizens, to meet with the people. They make the public sentiment of the country, and it is the public sentiment of the country that governs the country. The best sentiment, the holiest sentiment, comes from the American homes—the plain homes where virtue resides; and a home life, a family life, lies at the very foundation of this popular government of ours. As long as we keep the homes pure, so long will we keep our government pure. [Applause.]

I see a number of old soldiers about me. I am glad to meet them. I see some of the young soldiers about me. I am glad to meet them. The Grand Army of the Republic will be increased, and there will be two hundred and twenty thousand soldiers eligible for admission into the Grand Army of the Republic, made so by the recent war with Spain, and we welcome them, for they are our comrades. They did just as the old soldiers of the other volunteer army did-they did their whole duty, and were willing to bare their breasts to the enemy's bullets, and sacrifice their lives, if need be, for the honor of the government of the United States. [Applause.] No more splendid army was ever mustered beneath any flag than the army of the United States, numbering two hundred and sixty thousand men, mustered inside of And in one hundred and thirteen days sixty days. hostilities were suspended. And we are all of us praying in our hearts and in our homes that the peace which shall be finally secured shall be as humane and as honorable and as just as has been the prosecution of the war. [Great applause.]

XLII.

Speech at Ames, Iowa, October 11, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens:

I am glad to meet you as I have been meeting thousands of your fellow-citizens on our journey through your State and to be at the seat of the Agricultural College of Iowa. One of the wisest things this government ever did was to make ample provision for these great agricultural and educational institutions throughout the land. We have more than half a hundred of them now, attesting the far-sightedness and sagacity of the Congress of the United States. In a government like ours citizenship is always improved by education, and the pride and glory of the nation is that the school-room has an open door for every boy and girl of the land. And one of the encouraging things in this country is that the poorest boy in the land may aspire to the highest place in the government of the re-The citizenship that comes out of the schools of public. the country is the hope of the country. When our war commenced in 1861-the Civil War-the young men from the schools and universities in every part of the North enlisted under the banner of liberty. When our recent war with Spain commenced, the young men from the schools and the colleges, and from the universities, and from every rank and station in life, enlisted to carry forward that banner of glory into a foreign land, and die, if need be, for the honor of the republic. [Great applause.] It is a glorious citizenship we have. It meets every emergency and responds to every crisis in the life of the nation. The American people have never failed. no matter how great the emergency, no matter how grave the crisis, to measure up to the highest responsibilities of honor and duty. [Great applause.]

We have much to be grateful for. No nation in the world has more cause for profound thankfulness than the American nation to-day. We have passed through a foreign war. No one knew at its beginning what its results might immediately be. We all knew what its results must ultimately be, but we did not know how much it would cost in life or treasure to secure these results. At the end of less than four months hostilities were suspended, and one half of the army that volunteered to fight the battles of the country were mustered out and returned to their homes. And then what results have been accomplished for humanity, for civilization, against oppression! [Great applause.] Of which results we need not speak now, for these results are yet unknown and unwritten.

All we can do as a people in the present situation is just what we have done in the last four months: stand together and be wise and respond to duty—the responsibility of duty, however grave that may be. [Great applause.]

XLIII.

SPEECH AT BOONE, IOWA, OCTOBER 11, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens:

During this day I have been made very deeply sensible of the manifestations of good will from the people of Iowa that have followed me all along my journey through your State. I do not misinterpret its meaning. I know how little, if anything, there is personal in it. I know you are showing your respect for the great office of President of the United States, an office which, fortunately for us, always, in every administration, — no matter who has administered it, — has commanded the respect of the whole American people. We are fortunate to-day, more fortunate than we have been for more than half a century, in having an undivided and indivisible and united nation. [Applause.]

Every section of this country loves the old flag dearly. and we have but one flag, and that the glorious Stars and [Applause.] It is a sight inspiring to behold Stripes. that in our war the troops of the North brigaded with the troops of the South; that Iowa troops were brigaded with the troops of Georgia, and commanded by that distinguished ex-Confederate, whose name is so familiar in the annals of the Civil War, so that once more we were all together. We were all together in the fight; we must be all together in the conclusion. [Cheers.] This is no time for divided councils. This is the solemn hour demanding the highest wisdom and the best statesmanship of every section of our country, and, thank God, there is no North, no South, no East, no West, but all Americans forever. [Great applause.]

The only great danger for this people is that now and then they become indifferent. Indifferent citizenship is always unfortunate; it is always unfortunate to be indifferent to a party, but it is more unfortunate to be indifferent to principle. In the United States we have grown to have convictions, and we have come to know how to put these convictions into public law and public administration. If I would have you remember anything I have said in these desultory remarks, it would be to remember at this critical hour in the nation's history we must not be divided. The triumphs of the war are yet to be written in the articles of peace. [Great applause.]

XLIV.

SPEECH AT CARROLL, IOWA, OCTOBER 11, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I am glad to meet the people of Carroll, and read in your cheerful faces that you are fairly well satisfied with your own condition and that of the country. We have been having for the past five months very stirring events, and, fortunately for us, we have been triumphant. Providence has been extremely kind to the American people—kind not only in the recent conflict of arms, but in every step and stage of our history from its very beginning until now. We have been singularly blessed and favored. The past of our country is secure, and it is glorious. It is the future with which we have to deal; and if we shall be as wise as our fathers, then this government will be carried on successfully by their sons.

Just at this hour, although hostilities have been suspended, we are confronted with the gravest national problems. It is a time for the soberest judgment and the most conservative and considerate action. As we have stood together in the war, so we must stand together until the results of that war shall be written in peace. [Great applause.] I am here journeying to the city of Omaha, glad of the opportunity to pay my respects to the people of Iowa, and to congratulate them upon the valor of the American army and navy, and upon the prosperous condition of the country.

We have a great country—we will be excused if we say the greatest country in the world; great in its possibilities, great in its opportunities. And with these rest upon all of us great responsibilities. I trust that we will be able to meet them and to measure up to every opportunity of honor and duty. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

XLV.

Speech at Denison, Iowa, October 11, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I am both gratified and honored to meet my countrymen at the home of the governor of the State of Iowa. I remember with what satisfaction, in response to the first call of the Executive for troops, I received his message saying that Iowa was ready to furnish any number of troops to sustain the honor and dignity of the government of the United States. I remember, also, at the conclusion of hostilities, when the time had come for the muster out of a part of that great volunteer army, he said, speaking for all the people of all the State, that Iowa's troops would remain just as long as the government of the United States needed them. [Lou'd and prolonged cheering.]

I am glad, also, to meet the constituents of my honored and eloquent friend, your representative in the Congress of the United States [Representative Dolliver]. I have known him long and well, and I am sure this district honors itself in having so distinguished a representative at the seat of government.

This is an era of patriotism. There are no party lines. Partizanship has been hushed, and the voice of patriotism alone is heard throughout the land. Never was there a more united people. Never since the beginning of the government itself were the people of this country so united in aim and purpose and hope as at the present hour. As they were united in the war, so they will be united until peace finally comes—a peace founded upon right and justice and humanity. [Great applause.]

We have much to be grateful for in other directions than our martial achievements. We have much to be grateful for because of the condition of the country. We have a fair share of prosperity in the field and the factory. Business looks hopeful and assuring everywhere, and our credit balances show the progress which the country is making. In 1892, six years ago, we sent more products out of the United States than we had ever sent before. This year we have sent more products to Europe, receiving in payment their good gold, than were ever shipped there out of the United States in a single year of our history. [Great applause.] One billion two hundred million dollars' worth of American products. the production of your fields and your labor, went out of the United States this year, and more than eight hundred million dollars of that sum were made up of agricultural products, while our importations, or what we bought abroad, were only about one half of what we sold abroad, leaving a large balance in our favor. This is a cause of congratulation from one end of the country to the other, for if there is any one thing that makes the people contented and happy, it is to have a fair share of prosperity. [Great applause.]

And now, my fellow-citizens, thanking you as I have thanked the hundreds of thousands of people who have greeted me to-day in your State with a cordial and hearty welcome, I bid you all good night.

XLVI.

REMARKS AT LOGAN, IOWA, OCTOBER 11, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I have had to-day so many exhibitions of Iowa's kindness and hospitality that I shall leave the State with very great regret. At every point of my journey I have been welcomed by the people with a heartiness and a cordiality which, I assure you, have profoundly touched me. I am glad to see that wherever I have been the people of this goodly State are prosperous and happy, and that they love the government and love the flag. [Great applause.]

XLVII.

SPEECH AT MISSOURI VALLEY, IOWA, OCTOBER 11, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

No one with my experience of to-day, meeting hundreds of thousands of people in your State and in the State of Illinois, can have doubt as to the strength and spirit of popular government. This government of ours is safe in the hands of its people, because they have no other aim but the public good, and no other purpose but to attain for the government the highest destiny and the greatest prosperity. I have been glad to note all along the line of my journey evidences of substantial prosperity in every walk and field of human energy, and I congratulate you upon your material advancement and the high standard of this people and this government, not only in the estimation of its own citizens, but in the estimation of the world.

The grave problems that are before us must be settled. If we will only pursue the right, following duty at whatever cost, the ends reached will be for the honor and glory of our beloved country. I rejoice to know, as I do know, that in the contest that is now stayed, and the problems which are to follow, the American people will act together as one man—act together not only for the good of our own country, but for the good of other peoples, in relation to whom the war has imposed a duty upon us. [Great applause.]

XLVIII.

Address at the Trans-Mississippi Exposition at Omaha, Nebraska, October 12, 1898.

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Trans-Mississippi Exposition, and Fellow-Citizens :

It is with genuine pleasure that I meet once more the people of Omaha, whose wealth of welcome is not altogether unfamiliar to me, and whose warm hearts have before touched and moved me. For this renewed manifestation of your regard, and for the cordial reception of to-day, my heart responds with profound gratitude and a deep appreciation which I cannot conceal, and which the language of compliment is inadequate to convey. My greeting is not alone to your city and the State of Nebraska, but to the people of all the States of the

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Trans-Mississippi group participating here, and I cannot withhold congratulations on the evidences of their prosperity furnished by this great exposition. If testimony were needed to establish the fact that their pluck has not deserted them, and that prosperity is again with them, it is found here. This picture dispels all doubt. [Applause.]

In an age of expositions they have added yet another magnificent example. [Applause.] The historical celebrations at Philadelphia and Chicago, and the splendid exhibits at New Orleans, Atlanta, and Nashville, are now part of the past, and yet in influence they still live, and their beneficent results are closely interwoven with our national development. Similar rewards will honor the authors and patrons of the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition. Their contribution will mark another epoch in the nation's material advancement.

One of the great laws of life is progress, and nowhere have the principles of this law been so strikingly illustrated as in the United States. A century and a decade of our national life have turned doubt into conviction, changed experiment into demonstration, revolutionized old methods, and won new triumphs which have challenged the attention of the world. This is true not only of the accumulation of material wealth, and advance in education, science, invention, and manufactures, but, above all, in the opportunities to the people for their own elevation, which have been secured by wise free government.

Hitherto, in peace and in war, with additions to our territory and slight changes in our laws, we have steadily enforced the spirit of the Constitution secured to us by the noble self-sacrifice and far-seeing sagacity of our ancestors. We have avoided the temptations of conquest in the spirit of gain. With an increasing love for our institutions and an abiding faith in their stability, we have made the triumphs of our system of government in the progress and the prosperity of our people an inspiration to the whole human race. [Applause.] Confronted at this moment by new and grave problems, we must recognize that their solution will affect not ourselves alone, but others of the family of nations.

In this age of frequent interchange and mutual dependence, we cannot shirk our international responsibilities if we would; they must be met with courage and wisdom, and we must follow duty even if desire opposes. [Applause.] No deliberation can be too mature, or selfcontrol too constant, in this solemn hour of our history. We must avoid the temptation of aggression, and aim to secure only such results as will promote our own and the general good.

It has been said by some one that the normal condition of nations is war. That is not true of the United States. We never enter upon a war until every effort for peace without it has been exhausted. Ours has never been a military government. Peace, with whose blessings we have been so singularly favored, is the national desire and the goal of every American aspiration. [Applause.]

On the 25th of April, for the first time for more than a generation, the United States sounded the call to arms. The banners of war were unfurled; the best and bravest from every section responded; a mighty army was enrolled; the North and the South vied with each other in patriotic devotion [great applause]; science was invoked to furnish its most effective weapons; factories were rushed to supply equipment; the youth and the veteran joined in freely offering their services to their country; volunteers and regulars and all the people rallied to the support of the republic. There was no break in the line, no halt in the march, no fear in the heart [great applause]; no resistance to the patriotic impulse at home, no successful resistance to the patriotic spirit of the troops fighting in distant water or on a foreign shore. [Continued applause.]

What a wonderful experience it has been from the standpoint of patriotism and achievement! The storm broke so suddenly that it was here almost before we realized it. Our navy was too small, though forceful with its modern equipment, and most fortunate in its trained officers and sailors. Our army had years ago been reduced to a peace footing. We had only twenty-eight thousand available troops when the war was declared, but the account which officers and men gave of themselves on the battle-field has never been surpassed. The manhood was there and everywhere. American patriotism was there, and its resources were limitless. The courageous and invincible spirit of the people proved glorious, and those who a little more than a third of a century ago were divided and at war with each other were again united under the holy standard of liberty. [Great applause.] Patriotism banished party feeling; fifty millions of dollars for the national defense were appropriated without debate or division, as a matter of course and as only a mere indication of our mighty reserve power. [Great applause.]

But if this is true of the beginning of the war, what shall we say of it now, with hostilities suspended, and peace near at hand, as we fervently hope? Matchless

in its results! [Great applause.] Unequaled in its completeness and the quick succession with which victory followed victory! Attained earlier than it was believed to be possible: so comprehensive in its sweep that every thoughtful man feels the weight of responsibility which has been so suddenly thrust upon us. And above all and beyond all, the valor of the American army and the oravery of the American navy and the majesty of the American name stand forth in unsullied glory, while the humanity of our purposes and the magnanimity of our conduct have given to war, always horrible, touches of noble generosity. Christian sympathy and charity, and examples of human grandeur which can never be lost to mankind. [Prolonged applause.] Passion and bitterness formed no part of our impelling motive, and it is gratifying to feel that humanity triumphed at every step of the war's progress. [Applause.]

The heroes of Manila and Santiago and Porto Rico have made immortal history. They are worthy successors and descendants of Washington and Greene; of Paul Jones. Decatur. and Hull, and of Grant. Sheridan, Sherman, and Logan: of Farragut. Porter, and Cushing, of Lee. Jackson, and Longstreet. [Tremendous applause.]

New names stand out on the honor-roll of the nation's great men [applause], and with them, unnamed, stand the heroes of the trenches and the forecastle, invincible in battle and uncomplaining in death. [Great applause.] The intelligent, loyal, indomitable soldier and sailor and marine, regular and volunteer, are entitled to equal praise as having done their whole duty, whether at home or under the baptism of foreign fire. [Applause.] Who will dim the solendor of their achievements?

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Who will withhold from them their well-earned distinction? Who will intrude detraction at this time to belittle the manly spirit of the American youth and impair the usefulness of the American army? Who will embarrass the government by sowing seeds of dissatisfaction among the brave men who stand ready to serve and die, if need be, for their country? Who will darken the counsels of the republic in this hour. requiring the united wisdom of all? [Cheers and prolonged applause.]

Shall we deny to ourselves what the rest of the world so freely and so justly accords to us? [General cry of "No!"] The men who endured in the short but decisive struggle its hardships, its privations, whether in field or camp, on ship or in the siege, and planned and achieved its victories, will never tolerate impeachment. either direct or indirect, of those who won a peace whose great gain to civilization is yet unknown and unwritten. [Tremendous applause.]

The faith of a Christian nation recognizes the hand of Almighty God in the ordeal through which we have passed. Divine favor seemed manifest everywhere. In fighting for humanity's sake we have been signally blessed. We did not seek war. To avoid it, if this could be done in honor and justice to the rights of our neighbors and ourselves, was our constant prayer. The war was no more invited by us than were the questions which are laid at our door by its results. [Great applause.] Now as then we will do our duty. [Continued applause.] The problems will not be solved in a day. Patience will be required—patience combined with sincerity of purpose and unshaken resolution to do right, seeking only the highest good of the nation, and recognizing no other obligation, pursuing no other path, but that of duty. Right action follows right purpose. We may not at all times be able to divine the future, the way may not always seem clear; but if our aims are high and unselfish, somehow and in some way the right end will be reached. The genius of the nation, its freedom, its wisdom, its humanity, its courage, its justice, favored by divine Providence, will make it equal to every task and the master of every emergency. [Long-continued applause.]

XLIX.

REMARKS ON LEAVING OMAHA, NEBRASKA, October 13, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

You have done so much in the past twenty-four hours that it will make my visit here one long to be remembered. Nothing has pleased me more than the good feeling and earnest patriotism everywhere exhibited. I see that here in Nebraska, as in every other State in the Union, everybody loves the government and the flag, and I eannot tell you how hard it is for me to bid you all good-by. [Great applause.]

L.

SPEECH AT COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA, OCTOBER 13, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens:

I am very much gratified at your reception. I have just come from the great city of the West, and have witnessed a wonderful exhibition of your genius and skill and industry, as shown at the Trans-Mississippi Exposition. Nothing has given me greater satisfaction, as I have journeyed through the country, than to look into the cheerful faces of the people, and to be assured from their appearance that despair no longer hangs over the West, but that you are having a fair share of prosperity, and not only that, but you are having a baptism of patriotism, in which we all rejoice. [Great applause.]

LI.

SPEECH AT GLENWOOD, IOWA, OCTOBER 13, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I am very glad to meet you and greet you here this morning. I need not say that I like the flag that you earry. Whenever you put that flag in the hands of the boys and the girls you put patriotism in their hearts. There are two strong and marked phases in the war with Spain. The one is its heroism, and the other its humanity. The individual valor of the soldier and the sailor has never been surpassed. Both at Manila and Santiago, with Dewey's fleet and Sampson's squadron, there were distinguishing exhibitions of personal valor and intrepidity which thrilled all our hearts. So with the land forces at San Juan and El Caney and Manila; so with the marines at Guantanamo. This is the heroic side.

The other is the humanitarian side. The first ship to enter the harbor of Santiago after the surrender of the Spanish forces and army to General Shafter was a ship carrying the Red Cross flag and laden with food and provisions and medicines for the suffering inhabitants of that land. And so all through the war we have mingled with our heroism our splendid and glorious humanity. There was no malice in our conflict, there was no bitterness or resentment connected with it, and when it was all over we treated our foe as generously as we could have treated a friend. All this must be inspiring to the American people. We are a great people. We love peace, not war; but when we go to war we send to it the best and bravest of the country. And Iowa, in this war, as in the great Civil War, contributed her share of patriotic boys to fight the battles of our country. [Great applause.]

LII.

Speech at Malvern, Iowa, October 13, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens:

In the moment that I shall be permitted to stop with you I desire to thank you for the cordial reception you have given me this morning. I cannot but recall, as I journey through the country, the difference between conditions now and those of thirty-seven years ago. Then we were at war with each other, one section of our beloved country fighting against the other; then the contest was for the preservation of the Union, and in that conflict we happily triumphed. Thirty-seven years later we are engaged in another war, not as a divided country, but as a united country, North and South vying with each other in self-sacrificing devotion to the country and flag; and united, my fellow-countrymen, we are invincible, and having stood together against a foreign foe, we must stand together until every settlement of that war shall be finally embodied in a public treaty. [Great applause.]

LIII.

REMARKS AT HASTINGS, IOWA, OCTOBER 13, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It has given me great pleasure, as I have journeyed through your State, to observe evidences both of patriotism and of prosperity. We have pretty much everything in this country to make it happy. We have good money, we have ample revenues, we have unquestioned national credit; but we want new markets, and as trade follows the flag, it looks very much as if we were going to have new markets. [Applause.]

LIV.

Speech at Red Oak, Iowa, October 13, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens:

What nation of the world has more to be thankful for than ours? We have material wealth, we have rich and fertile lands, we have great shops and great factories that make everything. We have skilled workmen, we have genius for invention, and in the last thirty years we have achieved commercial triumphs which have been the wonder of the world. We have much to be thankful for. We have come out of events of the last five months glorious in our victories, and more glorious in the results which are to follow them. We are fortunate in the virtue of our people and in the valor of our soldiers and sailors.

We have been patriotic in every crisis of our history, and never more so than from April, 1898, to the present hour. But our patriotism must be continued. We must not permit it to abate, but we must stand unitedly until every settlement of the recent contest shall be written in enduring form, and shall record a triumph for civilization and humanity. [Great applause.]

I am glad to be at the home of that gallant young hero who went down in the harbor of Havana, Engineer Merritt. I am glad to pay a fitting tribute to him and to all the other heroes of the war. His name and his fame will be sacredly guarded by his own neighbors and fellow-citizens, and will always be held in remembrance by a grateful people. [Great applause.]

LV.

Speech at Corning, Iowa, October 13, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It gives me great pleasure to meet you all and be greeted by you as I pass through Iowa. We have been seeing something in the last forty-eight hours of the vastness and the wealth of this mighty empire of the West, and I congratulate you upon the evidences of prosperity and of progress that have been constantly presented to me.

Iowa is not only great in its material possessions,-

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in its farms and its factories,—but it is great in its influence on the nation. From the period of your admission into the American Union as a State, you have had marked influence on national legislation and national administration; and I know of no State in the country to-day that has greater influence in public affairs, through its senators and its representatives in Congress, than this great State of Iowa. [Great applause.]

LVI.

SPEECH AT CRESTON, IOWA, OCTOBER 13, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

The cheerful faces of this great assemblage give me assurance of what I have already known, that the business and industrial and agricultural conditions of the country are those of confidence. I do not know a period of our history when the country enjoyed more real and substantial prosperity than it does to-day. The job hunts the man, not the man the job. When that condition exists labor is always better rewarded. In every one of the great industries of the country we are feeling a degree of prosperity which gives hope and confidence to all of our people. Not only are the people reasonably prosperous, but the government in which we are all interested is alike prosperous. Our financial condition was never better than it is now. Our national credit was never so high as it is now, and the people of the United States were well enough off-when the government wanted two hundred millions of dollars with which to conduct the war-to subscribe for fourteen hundred

million dollars' worth of bonds [loud and prolonged cheering], and a bond at a lower rate of interest than was ever sold by the government of the United States before. Our revenues are not troubling us any more [laughter and applause], and our enemy is not troubling us much more [laughter and loud applause]. We have got along fairly well thus far, thanks to the patriotism of the American people, and thanks to the valor and the courage and the heroism of the boys of Iowa and of the other States of the American Union.

My fellow-citizens, I want to leave one more thought with you, and that is, as we have been united and therefore strong and invincible in the war, we must continue united until the end of this struggle; we must have no differences among ourselves while we are settling differences with another government. When we have made that settlement in the interest of justice and civilization and humanity, then we can resume our own domestic differences.

I want to say in this presence and before this assemblage that, in all the trying months through which we have just passed, the President of the United States had the faithful support of the representatives of the people of Iowa in the Congress of the United States. [Great applause.]

LVII.

REMARKS AT OSCEOLA, IOWA, OCTOBER 13, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I do not think you appreciate how much good your presence in such vast numbers all along our journey has been to the President of the United States. If he can feel that he has the support and the confidence of his countrymen, irrespective of party, I think he will have courage for any duty; for whenever a great problem is presented to them, the people are sure to be right in their ultimate judgment. I thank you for the pleasure of looking into your faces this morning, and bid you good day. [Applause.]

LVIII.

SPEECH AT CHARITON, IOWA, OCTOBER 13, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

Until my visit to your State I do not think I ever appreciated fully the size and population of Iowa. The vast assemblages that have everywhere greeted us with their good will have been both touching and inspiring. It gives me great pleasure to see the men and the women, the old and the young, as they gather under the flag of the free to renew once more their devotion to country and our free institutions. It gives me especial pleasure to meet with the school-children, the boys and the girls, those who in a little while must take up the trust now in the hands of the older of us, and carry forward this great government. These little people who gather about us, who are in the public schools, are to be educated for future citizenship; for out of the school-house, in all of our history, have come the statesmen, the business men, the soldiers, and the farmers that have done so much for this country.

We have been fortunate as a nation in the last six months. We have made much progress in a very short 8 time. We have almost lost sight of the faet, in talking about the war, that we have made some very substantial gains without resort to arms. We have Hawaii, that came to us free and independent, and asked to be annexed; and I have no doubt the teachers in the public schools have already revised the maps so as to include this new addition to the United States. And, my felloweitizens, wherever our flag floats, wherever we raise that standard of liberty, it is always for the sake of humanity and the advancement of civilization. Territory sometimes comes to us when we go to war in a holy cause, and whenever it does the banner of liberty will float over it and bring, I trust, blessings and benefits to all the people. [Great applause.]

LIX.

SPEECH AT OTTUMWA, IOWA, OCTOBER 13, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens:

I wish I had the voice to make myself heard by this great assemblage of my countrymen. I recall with the pleasantest memory a visit I made to your city seven years ago, and I still carry in recollection the warmth of welcome you extended to me. I think there are more people here to-day than were present at the meeting to which I refer. At that time we were considering a great economic question. That question has, happily, been settled, and settled on the side of the people. We have been settling a great many things in the past few months. We have been settling some foreign complications. We settled the question as to whether the American flag shall float over Hawaii [great applause], and the flag is floating there to-day, in all its beauty and in all its glory, over a happy and contented people, who wanted to be annexed to the United States because they loved our institutions. For more than half a century we had in Cuba a disturbing question lying at our very door—ten years of continuous revolution during the administration of President Grant, followed by a three years' revolution of recent date. That, too, has been settled [applause], and that which disturbed so long the peace and tranquillity of the American government, and interfered with our legitimate trade, has now been ended. [Great applause.]

Now, what we have to do is to be wise about the future. We have been united up to this hour; we do not want to be divided now. And we want the best wisdom of the whole country, the best statesmanship of the country, and the best public sentiment of the country to help determine what the duty of the American nation is, and when that is once determined, we will do it without fear or hesitation. [Great applause.]

LX.

SPEECH AT MONMOUTH, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 13, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I quite despair of making my voice heard by this great audience, but whether you hear mine or not, I have heard yours of hearty welcome, and thank you.

The American name was never higher than it is now, and American citizenship was never dearer to its possessor, nor fraught with graver responsibilities. The army and the navy from Manila to Santiago have nobly performed their duty. It is left for the citizens of this country to do theirs. May God give us the wisdom to perform our part with fidelity, not only to our own interests, but to the interests of those who, by the fortunes of war, are brought within the radius of our influence. [Applause.]

LXI.

SPEECH AT GALESBURG, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 13, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It gives me uncommon pleasure to meet and greet this great audience of patriotic citizens of Galesburg. I am glad to meet the young men of the colleges who are here to-night. I am glad to greet the old volunteers of the Civil War and the new volunteers of the Spanish War, and not the least of my pleasure is that I have been permitted to meet here in your city the commander of that splendid army in front of Santiago, Major-General Shafter. [Great applause.] I hope he has told the story of heroism at San Juan hill and El Caney [continued applause], and other points of thrilling interest in that near-by island which, through the valor of his soldiers and the wisdom of the commander, brought to his country such a magnificent triumph. Somehow there is always a man raised for the hour. When the *Merrimac* was to be sunk there was a brave lieutenant of the navy ready to sacrifice his life in the accomplishment of that heroic deed. [Cheers.] When the war came on there were two hundred thousand volunteers within sixty days marching under the banner of freedom, ready to go anywhere, ready to make any sacrifice for the honor of the country and for humanity. And in every emergency to which this country has ever been subjected, the people have risen to the highest measure of duty and of opportunity.

We have grave responsibilities yet resting upon us. The heroes of Manila and Santiago and Porto Rico have done their part nobly and well. It remains for us citizens of the United States to do our part. And now, having said this much, I give way that you may have the pleasure of seeing and hearing members of the Cabinet and others who have been accompanying me on this long journey. I cannot forbear to say that nothing has so impressed and inspired me as the noble, patriotic spirit of the people of the United States, not only in the North, but in the South. [Applause.] Never was a people so united in purpose, in heart, in sympathy, and in love as the American people to-day. One thing yet is left for us to do, and that is to remain shoulder to shoulder until there shall be secured in the treaty of peace all the fruits of this great war. [Great applause.]

LXII.

Speech at the Merchants' Exchange, St. Louis, Missouri, October 14, 1898.

Mr. President, Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I thank you all most cordially for the warm welcome you have given me to your city, and I congratulate you upon the good feeling and the uplifting spirit everywhere found throughout the length and breadth of our common country. Thank God, we are all together once more. [Applause.] We have one flag and one destiny, and wherever that destiny shall lead us we will have hearts strong enough to meet its responsibilities. [Applause.] We cannot enjoy the glories of victory without bearing whatever burdens it imposes, feeling assured they will carry blessings to the people.

We were never so well off as we are to-day. Industrial despair no longer hangs over us. We have gone from business depression to business prosperity. We have gone from labor hunting employment to employment hunting labor. [Applause.] A most blessed country we have; and resting upon all of us is the duty of maintaining it unimpaired, while carrying forward the great trust of civilization that has been committed 'to us. We must gather the just fruits of the victory. We must pursue duty step by step. We must follow the light as God has given us to see the light, and he has singularly guided us, not only from the beginning of our great government, but down through every erisis to the present hour; and I am sure it is the praver of every American that he shall still guide and direct us. [Applause.]

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LXIII.

Speech in the Coliseum, St. Louis, Missouri, October 14, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

My former visits to St. Louis are full of pleasant memories. My present one I shall never forget. It has warmed my heart and given me encouragement for greater effort to administer the trust which I hold for my country. My first visit was in 1888, and then again in 1892, both of which afforded me an opportunity of becoming acquainted with your people, and of observing the substantial character of your enterprising city. I omitted my quadrennial visit in 1896 for reasons which were obvious to you, and have always been thankful that my absence seemed to have created no prejudice in your minds. [Laughter and applause.]

I remember, on the occasion of a former visit, in company with Governor Francis and other citizens, to have witnessed the assembled pupils of the schools of the city at your great fair. It was an inspiring sight, and it has never been effaced from recollection. As I looked into the thousands of young faces of the boys and the girls, preparing themselves for citizenship, I had my faith confirmed in the stability of our institutions. [Applause.] I saw them to-day as I drove about your city, with the flag in their hands, and heard their voices ringing with the song we love—

> My country, 't is of thee, Sweet land of liberty.

To the youth of the country trained in the schools, which happily are opened to all, must we look to carry forward the fabric of government. It is fortunate for us that our republic appeals to the best and noblest aspirations of its citizens, and makes all things possible to the worthy and industrious youth.

The personal interest and participation of our citizenship in the conduct of the government make its condition always absorbing and interesting.

It must be a matter of great gratification to the people of the United States to know that the national credit was never better than now, while the national name was never dearer to us, and never more respected by others the world over. For the first time in the country's history the government has sold a three-per-cent. bond, every dollar of which was taken at par. This bond is now at a premium of five cents on the dollar; and the profit has gone to the people. [Applause.] The loan was a popular one, and it has been a source of much satisfaction that the people, with their surplus savings, were able to buy the bonds. It is an interesting fact that while we offered but two hundred millions of bonds for sale, over fourteen hundred millions were subscribed by the people of the country, and by the terms of sale no one was able to receive bonds in excess of five thousand dollars. [Applause.]

It is not without significance, too, that the government has not been required, since 1896, to borrow any money for its current obligations until the war with Spain, while its available balance, October 1, 1898, was upward of three hundred and seven millions, of which sum over two hundred and forty-three millions were in gold. Nothing more impressed the nations of the world than the appropriation of a large national defense fund which the Treasury was able to pay from its balance, without resort to a loan. While the credit and finance of the government have improved, the business conditions of the people have also happily improved. We are more cheerful, more happy, more contented. Both government and citizens have shared in the general prosperity. The circulation of the country on the 1st of July, 1898, was larger than it had ever been before in our history. It is not so large to-day as then, but the reason for it is that the people put a part of that circulation in the Treasury to meet the government bonds which they hold in their hands.

The people have borne the additional taxation made necessary by the war with the same degree of patriotism that characterized the soldiers who enlisted to fight the country's battles. [Applause.] We have not only prospered in every material sense, but we have established a sentiment of good feeling and a spirit of brotherhood such as the nation has not enjoyed since the earlier years of its history. My countrymen, not since the beginning of the agitation of the question of slavery has there been such a common bond in name and purpose, such genuine affection, such a unity of the sections, such obliteration of party and geographical divisions. National pride has been again enthroned; national patriotism has been restored; the national Union cemented closer and stronger; the love for the old flag enshrined in all hearts. North and South have mingled their best blood in a common cause, and to-day rejoice in a common victory. [Great applause.] Happily for the nation to-day, they follow the same glorious banner, together fighting and dving under its sacred folds for American honor and for the humanity of the race. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

We must guard this restored Union with zealous and sacred care, and, while awaiting the settlements of the war and meeting the problems which will follow, we must stand as Americans, not in the spirit of party, and unite in a common effort for that which will give to the nation its widest influence in the sphere of activity and usefulness to which the war has assigned it. My felloweitizens, let nothing distract us; let no discordant voice intrude to embarrass us in the solution of the mighty problems which involve such vast consequences to ourselves and posterity. Let us remember that God bestows supreme opportunity upon no nation which is not ready to respond to the call of supreme duty. [Prolonged applause.]

LXIV.

SPEECH AT TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA, OCTOBER 15, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I have no expectation of making myself heard by this vast assemblage. I thank you for this warm and hearty reception at so early an hour of the morning. It gives me peculiar pleasure to meet again the citizens of the city of Terre Haute, and not the least element of that pleasure is that it gives me an opportunity of meeting my old friend, your neighbor, the veteran statesman and patriot, Hon. Richard W. Thompson. I do not forget that this was the home of that other distinguished Indianian, whose eloquence moved Senates and swayed great audiences, and whose friendship I enjoyed, Hon. Daniel W. Voorhees.

For seven days we have been traveling through the great West, and, everywhere we have gone, great assemblages like this have greeted us. I do not misinterpret it. I know what it means. It has no personal significance, but it does have a national significance, and it means that all the people of all the sections are once more united under one flag, united in purpose and patriotism. It means, my fellow-eitizens, that the people of the United States want the victories of the army and of the navy to be recognized in the treaty of peace. It means that they want those of us who are charged with the administration of the government to see to it that the war was not in vain, and that the just fruits of our achievements on land and sea shall not be lost. [Great applause.]

LXV.

Speech at Paris, Illinois, October 15, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I am glad to greet the citizens of Paris. If no word was spoken, the flag you carry would proclaim your faith in our common country, and the glowing patriotism which is in every heart. We have but one duty to perform, and that is to stand by the flag, and fortunately for us, in every part of the country, in every section of the country, all the people are standing beneath the folds of that glorious old banner—united under it in peace and fighting under it in war. [Great applause.]

LXVI.

Speech at Arcola, Illinois, October 15, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

We are a most fortunate people. We not only have a revival of patriotism among the people, but we have a return of prosperity to the country. Our business conditions are good at home, and our trade is good abroad. The producer has more and better consumers than he had a few years ago. That is because the business of the country has been restored. The factories and the shops and the great productive enterprises are again at work, so that you have consumers at home as well as abroad. We sold last year to Europe more than we bought of Europe. [Applause.] We sent more American products to the Old World, produced and made in the United States by our own labor, than we ever sent out of the country in any year in all our history; and more than three fourths of our exportations came from the fields and farms of the United States. And here, in your eity of Arcola, you know what it means to have a foreign market. When you cannot sell your broom-eorn in our own country, you are glad to send the surplus to some other country, and get their good money for your good broom-corn.

My fellow-citizens, we have resting upon us as a people grave problems, and it is our business to solve them wisely, and the people can help to do so, because whenever they consider calmly and soberly any great question, they are unerring in judgment. Mr. Lincoln followed the people, and following them he made no mistake. We have had great glory out of the war, and in its settlements we must be guided only by the demands of right and conscience and duty. [Great applause.] And when we have settled the problems of the war, our next triumphs must be those of commerce, not by arms, but by our superior advantages, and by the skill and genius and energy of our people. [Continued applause.]

I thank you for this cordial reception, and am glad to know that all the people of all the country are standing together, and mean to be united so long as vast problems remain unsolved. [Prolonged applause.]

LXVII.

SPEECH AT DECATUR, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 15, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I am thankful for the warm greeting accorded by this vast concourse of my countrymen. The central thought in every American mind to-day is the war and its results. The gratitude of every American heart goes out to our army and navy. [Applause.] What a magnificent army was mustered in less than sixty days! More than two hundred thousand soldiers responded to the call of country, coming from the homes of our fellow-citizens everywhere, the bravest and the best, willing to go into foreign territory to fight for the honor of our flag and for oppressed humanity. [Applause.] There was no break in our column. There was no division in any part of the country. North and South and East and West alike cheerfully responded; and then what victories were achieved in a little more than three months! [Applause.] Our troops sailed seven thousand miles away to Manila and won a signal victory. [Applause.] Our troops sailed to Cuba and achieved a glorious triumph. [Applause.] Our fleets in Manila Bay and Santiago harbor destroyed two Spanish fleets without the loss of a ship, and the brilliancy of both victories is not paralleled in the annals of war. [Great applause.] And all in a little over one hundred days! That is what our army and navy did. Now it only remains for the citizens of the republic to be as wise in statesmanship as our soldiers and sailors have been valorous in arms. [Prolonged applause.]

LXVIII.

SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 15, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

With grateful appreciation I acknowledge the generous words of welcome uttered in your behalf by the governor of the State [Governor Tanner] and by your distinguished senator [Senator Cullom]. I am glad to meet the people of Illinois at their State capital. I am glad to be at the home of the martyred President. His name is an inspiration, and a holy one, to all lovers of liberty the world over. He saved the Union. He liberated a race—a race which he onee said ought to be free because there might come a time when these black men could help keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom. If any vindication of that act or of that prophecy were needed, it was found when these brave

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black men ascended the hill of San Juan in Cuba and charged the enemy at El Caney. [Great applause.] They vindicated their own title to liberty on that field, and, with our other brave soldiers, gave the priceless gift of liberty to another suffering race. My fellowcitizens, the name of Lincoln will live forever in immortal story. His fame, his work, his life, are not only an inspiration to every American boy and girl, but to all mankind. [Great applause.] And what an encouragement his life-work has been to all of his successors in the presidential office ! If any one of them, at any time, has felt that his burden was heavy, he had but to reflect upon the greater burdens of Abraham Lincoln to make his own seem light. My fellow-citizens, I congratulate you that your great State furnished him to the country and the world. You guard his saered ashes here, but the whole country guards with you his saered memory.

I congratulate you upon the condition of the country. It was never better than it is to-day. Our national finances give us no trouble. We have all necessary money now with which to do the business of the government. [Applause.] And the government is secure in its finances, thanks to the people for having accepted the war taxes patriotically. The business of the people is better than it has been for years, and the money of the country has suffered no dishonor, while the credit of the government was never higher, and the national name never dearer to our people than now, and never more respected throughout the world. All thanks to the army and navy; thanks to the fleets of Dewey and Sampson, and the armies of Miles and of Shafter and of Merritt. [Great applause.] We have won great triumphs for humanity. We went to war, not because we wanted

to, but because humanity demanded it. And having gone to war for humanity's sake, we must accept no settlement that will not take into account the interests of humanity. [Continued applause.]

Now, my friends, what we want is to have no dispute or differences among ourselves to interfere with our united judgment in dealing with the foreign problems that are before us. As we stood together in war, let us stand together until its settlements are made. [Longcontinued applause.]

LXIX.

Speech at Clinton, Illinois, October 15, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I was told that this was a city of only five thousand people. I am prepared now to disbelieve it. I am gratified to meet the constituents and neighbors and fellow-citizens of your representative in Congress [Representative Warner] at his home. We are all of us proud of our country, proud of its past, of its commercial and industrial achievements. What wonderful growth and progress we have made! The State of Illinois has to-day a population greater than that of the thirteen original colonies. We have grown from a little more than three millions of people to seventy-five millions. We have become the greatest agricultural and manufacturing nation of the world. We have been making progress at rapid strides in all the arts of peace. We have a nation from whose history we need not turn away. We can study it with pride and profit. We can look back without regret or humiliation, and forward with hope and confidence.

The past of our country is glorious. What it shall be in the future rests with you—rests with the whole people. Your voice, when constitutionally expressed, is commanding and conclusive. It is the mandate of law. It is the law to Congress and to the Executive. May that voice be that of right and truth and justice! I am sure it will be so, and if it is, we need have no fear for the future of our country. [Great applause.]

LXX.

SPEECH AT GILMAN, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 15, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

With the pleasantest recollection I recall my former visit at this place. It was just about this time in the year and this time of the evening four years ago. That period is very short in the life of a nation, yet very much has happened in these four years. I hope that that which has happened does not meet with your disapproval. We have settled the revenue legislation. We have a comfortable balance in the Treasury. We have an unexcelled public eredit. We have put the flag over Hawaii. We have had, too, a short and decisive war-brilliant in its victories both on land and on sea: and we have added new names to the nation's roll of honor. It is our business to dedicate ourselves to the task yet unfinished. The army and the navy have performed their part. May we be able as well and honorably to perform ours, and may we bring to the yet unfinished task the best conscience and the best intelligence of the country. [Great applause.]

LXXI.

SPEECH AT KANKAKEE, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 15, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

This is not my first visit to your city. On the former occasion, just about four years ago, I was presented to a great assemblage by your distinguished representative in Congress [Representative Cannon], whom I had hoped to have the pleasure of meeting here to-night. Illinois has a great history. She has been potential in national policies and in national councils from her admission into the Union as a State. In war or in peace she has been conspicuous always. She had Grant and Oglesby and Logan and Palmer and McClernand in the Civil War; and in our recent war the boys from Illinois responded cheerfully to the call of country to go anywhere to maintain the public honor and give freedom to an oppressed people. It is a remarkable fact that this State was the center of public thought for more Lincoln and Douglas represented the than a decade. two opposing schools of politics. Their famous debate was an education for the young men and the old men of the country, and had as much to do with shaping and molding public opinion as any other event I can now recall. And yet, when the nation was in peril, those two great leaders opposing each other came together, united for the Union and the flag. [Great applause.]

LXXII.

Speech at the Auditorium, Chicago, October 18, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I have been deeply moved by this great demonstration. I have been deeply touched by the words of patriotism that have been so eloquently uttered by the distinguished men in your presence. It is gratifying to all of us to know that this has never ceased to be a war of humanity. The last ship that went out of the harbor of Havana before the war began was an American ship that had taken to the suffering people of Cuba the supplies furnished by American charity. [Applause.] And the first ship to sail into the harbor of Santiago was an American ship bearing food-supplies to the suffering Cubans. [Applause.] I am sure it is the universal prayer of American citizens that justice and humanity and civilization shall characterize the final settlement of peace, as they have distinguished the progress of the war. [Applause.]

My countrymen, the currents of destiny flow through the hearts of the people. Who will check them? Who will divert them? Who will stop them? And the movements of men, planned and designed by the Master of men, will never be interrupted by the American people. [Great applause.]

LXXIII.

REMARKS TO GATHERING IN FRONT OF UNION LEAGUE CLUB, CHICAGO, OCTOBER 19, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I have heard with pride and satisfaction the cheers of the multitude as the veterans of the Civil War on both sides of the contest have been reviewed. [Great applause.] I have witnessed with increasing pride this wild acclaim as you have watched the volunteers and the regulars and our naval reserves—the guardians of the people on land and sea—pass before your eyes. The demonstration of to-day is worth everything—everything to our country, for I read in the faces and hearts of my countrymen the purpose to see to it that this government, with its free institutions, "shall not perish from the earth." [Great applause.]

I wish I might take the hand of every patriotic man, woman, and child here to-day. [Applause.] But I cannot do that. [A voice: "But you 've got our hearts." Prolonged cheering.] And so I leave with you not only my thanks, but the thanks of this great nation, for your patriotism and devotion to the flag. [Great cheering.]

LXXIV.

SPEECH AT THE CITIZENS' BANQUET IN THE AUDITORIUM, CHICAGO, OCTOBER 19, 1898.

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It affords me gratification to meet the people of the city of Chicago, and to participate with them in this patriotic celebration. Upon the suspension of hostilities of a foreign war, the first in our history for over half a century, we have met in a spirit of peace, profoundly grateful for the glorious advancement already made, and earnestly wishing in the final termination to realize an equally glorious fulfilment.

With no feeling of exultation, but with profound thankfulness, we contemplate the events of the past five months. They have been too serious to admit of boasting or vainglorification. They have been so full of responsibilities, immediate and prospective, as to admonish the soberest judgment and counsel the most conservative action. This is not the time to fire the imagination, but rather to discover in calm reason the way to truth and justice and right, and, when discovered, to follow it with fidelity and courage, without fear, hesitation, or weakness.

The war has put upon the nation grave responsibilities. Their extent was not anticipated, and could not have been well foreseen. We cannot escape the obligations of victory. We cannot avoid the serious questions which have been brought home to us by the achievements of our arms on land and sea. We are bound in conscience to keep and perform the covenants which the war has sacredly sealed with mankind. Accepting war for humanity's sake, we must accept all obligations which the war in duty and honor imposed upon us. The splendid victories we have achieved would be our eternal shame and not our everlasting glory if they led to the weakening of our original lofty purpose, or to the desertion of the immortal principles on which the national government was founded, and in accordance with whose ennobling spirit it has ever since been faithfully administered.

The war with Spain was undertaken, not that the United States should increase its territory, but that oppression at our very doors should be stopped. This noble sentiment must continue to animate us, and we must give to the world the full demonstration of the sincerity of our purpose.

Duty determines destiny. Destiny which results from duty performed may bring anxiety and perils, but never failure and dishonor. Pursuing duty may not always lead by smooth paths. Another course may look easier and more attractive, but pursuing duty for duty's sake is always sure and safe and honorable.

It is not within the power of man to foretell the future and to solve unerringly its mighty problems. Almighty God has his plans and methods for human progress, and not infrequently they are shrouded for the time being in impenetrable mystery. Looking backward, we can see how the hand of destiny builded for us and assigned us tasks whose full meaning was not apprehended even by the wisest statesmen of their times. Our colonial ancestors did not enter upon their war originally for independence. Abraham Lincoln did not start out to free the slaves, but to save the Union. The war with Spain was not of our seeking, and some of its consequences may not be to our liking. Our vision is often defective. Short-sightedness is a common malady, but the closer we get to things or they get to us, the clearer our view and the less obscure our duty. Patriotism must be faithful as well as fervent; statesmanship must be wise as well as fearless—not the statesmanship which will command the applause of the hour, but the judgment of posterity.

The progress of a nation can alone prevent degeneration. There must be new life and purpose or there will be weakness and decay. There must be broadening of thought as well as broadening of trade. Territorial expansion is not alone and always necessary to national advancement. There must be a constant movement toward a higher and nobler civilization, a civilization that shall make its conquests without resort to war, and achieve its greatest victories pursuing the arts of peace. In our present situation, duty and duty alone should prescribe the boundary of our responsibilities and the scope of our undertakings.

The final determination of our purposes awaits the action of the eminent men who are charged by the Executive with the making of the treaty of peace, and that of the Senate of the United States, which, by our Constitution, must ratify and confirm it. We all hope and pray that the confirmation of peace will be as just and humane as the conduct and consummation of the war. When the work of the treaty-makers is done, the work of the lawmakers will begin. The one will settle the extent of our responsibilities, the other must provide the legislation to meet them. The army and navy have nobly and heroically performed their part. May God give the Executive and Congress wisdom to perform theirs!

LXXV.

Speech at First Regiment Armory, Chicago, before the Allied Organizations of Railroad Employees, October 20, 1898.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I count myself most fortunate to have the privilege of meeting with the allied railroad organizations assembled in this great metropolis. I have had in the last ten days very many most interesting and pleasant experiences, as I have journeyed through the country; but I assure you that none of them has given me greater pleasure than to meet the men and the women connected with the operation of the great railroads of the country. It is fortunate, too, that this body of representative men and women should have assembled in this city at a time when the people are celebrating the suspension of hostilities, and their desire for an honorable and just and triumphant peace. The railroad men of the country have always been for the country; the railroad men of the country have always been for the flag of the country; and in every crisis of our national history, in war or in peace, the men from your great organizations have been loyal and faithful to every duty and obligation. [Applause.]

Yours is at once a profession of great risk and of great responsibility. I know of no occupation in the field of human endeavor that carries with it graver obli-

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gations and higher responsibilities than that of the men who sit about me to-day. You transport the commerce of the country; you carry its rich treasures from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and you carry daily and hourly the freightage of humanity that trust you, trust your integrity, your intelligence, your fidelity, for the safety of their lives and of their loved ones. And I congratulate the country that in this system, so interwoven with the every-day life of the citizen and the republic, we have men of such splendid character and ability and intelligence.

I bring to you to-day not only my good will, but the good will and respect of seventy-five millions of American citizens. Your work is ever before a critical public. You go in and out every day before your countrymen, and you have earned from them deserved and unstinted praise for your fidelity to the great interests of the people whom you serve and of the roads which you operate.

The virtue of the people lies at the foundation of the republic. The power of the republic is in the American fireside. The virtue that comes out from the holy altar of home is the most priceless gift this nation has; and when the judgments of the people are spoken through the homes of the people, they command the Congress and the Executive, and at last crystallize into public law.

I thank you, my fellow-citizens, for your cordial greeting, and I congratulate you upon the evidences of returning prosperity everywhere to be seen. The figures read by your chairman represent the growth of the great railroad system of the country. What you want, what we all want, is business prosperity. When you have that you have something to do. When you have it not you are idle. There are few "empties" now on the side-tracks, and so there are few railroad men unemployed. The more you use the freight-car the oftener you see the pay-car. [Applause.]

I am glad to observe the First Illinois here with you to-day. That gallant regiment, made up of the volunteers from the homes of Chicago, took their lives into their hands and went to Santiago to fight the battles of liberty for an oppressed people. I am glad to have this opportunity to greet them, to congratulate and to thank them in the name of the American people. [Great applause.]

And now, having said this much, I bid you know that I will carry from this place, from this audience, from these warm-hearted men and women, one of the pleasantest memories of my long trip through the West. [Loud and prolonged cheering.]

LXXVI.

REMARKS TO CHICAGO COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, CHICAGO, OCTOBER 20, 1898.

Gentlemen :

I am indeed very glad to meet this representative delegation, and give you the assurance that the subject of your memorial shall enlist my early and earnest consideration. You are doubtless aware that I have informed the Czar of Russia that the United States will be represented in this proposed congress of peace. I suppose it might not be inappropriate, when we form our commission, to constitute it generously from you Chicago gentlemen who are so thoroughly interested in the issue with which it will deal; but we will take this up later. I don't want to take any of you by surprise.

LXXVII.

Speech at Logansport, Indiana, October 21, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

About a week ago I entered your State at eight o'clock in the morning, and was greeted by tens of thousands of people in the city of Terre Haute. An hour earlier in the day I meet this great throng of my fellowcountrymen. But since Dewey entered Manila Bay on that early morning in May, there has been no hour too early for the people of the United States to assemble to rejoice over our national victories and to manifest their desire for an honorable and triumphant peace. [Applause.] The flag never seemed so dear to us as it does now, and it never floated over so many places as it does now. [Applause.] As I have journeyed through the country I have rejoiced at the patriotism of the people. The flag of our country is in every man's hands and patriotism is in every man's heart. [Applause.] That is a good omen for our country. Our army and our navy have done brilliant service, have added new honors to the American name, have given a new meaning to American valor; and it only remains for us, the people, who in a country like ours are masterful when they speak, to do the rest, and to embody in honorable treaty the just fruitage of this war. [Great applause.]

LXXVIII.

Speech at Kokomo, Indiana, October 21, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

For your warm and cordial welcome I thank you most sincerely. I do not misinterpret its meaning. It means that the people of this community are standing together for country and for civilization. The war has made us a united people. We present a spectacle of seventy-five millions of people, representing every race and nationality and section, united in one faith and under one flag, and that the glorious old Stars and Stripes we love so much. And we must continue to stand together. So long as we have any differences abroad we must have none at home. Whenever we get through with our differences with another nation, then it will be time for us to resume our old disputes at home. Until that time we must stand for a common purpose, until the settlements of the war shall be embodied in the permanent form of a public treaty. [Applause.] We commenced the war, not for gain or greed or new possessions. We commenced it for freedom and to relieve our neighbors of oppression. [Applause.] And, having accomplished that, we must assume all the responsibilities that justly belong to that war, whatever they may be. I am sure that the people of this country, without regard to party, setting aside all differences and distinctions, will remain together until we shall finally settle the terms of peace. [Great applause.] I recall with peculiar satisfaction this morning, as I look into the faces of my countrymen from Indiana, the promptness with which your people responded to the call of the President after the declaration of war. [Loud cheering.] Within twenty-four hours from the receipt of that call your quota was full and in camp, and fifty thousand young men were ready to enlist under the banner of freedom. [Loud and prolonged cheers.] I thank you all, in the name of the nation, for your patriotic devotion to the country. [Great applause.]

LXXIX.

Speech at Tipton, Indiana, October 21, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I am both pleased and honored with the cordial reception given to me by the people of Indiana. I congratulate the whole country upon the revival of the national spirit, and also upon the return of better times. I have been glad to note, as I have traveled through the great West, that despair no longer hangs over the business interests of the country, but that all the people look out into the future with hope and with confidence. [Applause.] We have had such a revival of patriotism in this country as we have never had since the earliest days of our history. For the first time for more than half a century, North and South are united in holy alliance, with one aim, with one purpose, and with one determination-to stand by the government of the United States. [Applause.] That is what the war has done for the people of the United States. What it has done for other peoples

has yet to be determined. But as I look into your earnest faces I know that you would have this nation help the oppressed people who have by the war been brought within the sphere of our influence. [Applause.] Here in this great gas belt I am reminded of what nature has done for your great manufactories. I congratulate you again upon the prospect for better business in the United States. It is a great thing for the farmer to have men employed in shop and factory. [Applause.] It is a great thing for men to be employed; and I have discovered that when the employer seeks labor, labor gets better pay than when the laborer seeks employment. [Applause.] And now, having said this much, and grateful to you for this splendid reception, I bid you all good morning. [Great applause.]

LXXX.

Speech at Atlanta, Indiana, October 21, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It gives me uncommon pleasure to meet my countrymen and the constituents of my friend and your friend, Representative Landis. This, I believe, is one of the towns in Indiana where they make tin-plate. Am I right? [Cries of "Right!"] I heartily congratulate you upon the establishment of this successful industry in the United States. It has done some things for the country. It has given employment to many workingmen. It has made us, from the greatest consuming nation of tin-plate in the world, to be among the greatest of the nations to make tin-plate. I congratulate

you not only upon the prosperous condition of that branch of our national industries, but upon the better outlook for all the industries of the United States. [Applause.] I congratulate you further upon the patriotism of the people. And I thank you all that when the call of the country came you responded so cheerfully, and furnished more volunteers than the government of the United States could accept from the State of Indiana. [Applause.] I am glad to see these little ones about us this morning with these beautiful flags in their hands. It means that there is patriotism in their hearts. I congratulate you upon the unification of the country. We are stronger and have a more perfect Union now than we ever had before. And I wish you all prosperity in your workshops and love and contentment in your homes. [Great applause.]

LXXXI.

SPEECH AT NOBLESVILLE, INDIANA, OCTOBER 21, 1898.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :

This is a most inspiring spectacle. Present here this morning are all of your civic bodies, the old soldiers and the new soldiers, and all the people. Such a sight as this could scarcely be witnessed anywhere else. You are here because you are interested in your country. You are here because you love your country. You are here because you rejoice in the victories of our army and our navy. And you are here because you rejoice in the suspension of hostilities, the return of many of your boys to their homes, and the hope and belief that you will soon have a lasting and triumphant peace, resting in justice, righteousness, and humanity. [Applause.] Here none are for a party, but all are for the State. Here Democrats and Republicans and men of all parties have assembled to show their appreciation of the services rendered to the government by the army and the navy of the United States. [Applause.] And no nation ever had a more splendid army. Two hundred thousand of the bravest young men, within thirty days of the call of the President, responded, ready to march anywhere, at home or abroad, beneath the folds of the glorious old banner of the free. [Great cheering.] And did any nation in the world ever have a better navy? [Cries of "No!"] It was small, but it was masterful. [Applause.]

My fellow-citizens, rejoicing as we do over the victories of the war, let us be careful in justice and right to gather the triumphs of peace. The soldiers and sailors have done their part. The citizens must now do theirs. And I pray God that wisdom may be given all of us to so settle this vexed and vast problem as to bring honor to our country, justice to humanity, and general good to all. [Great applause.]

LXXXII.

Speech at Indianapolis, Indiana, October 21, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I thank you for the words of welcome spoken in your behalf by your distinguished senator [Senator Fairbanks]. I thank you for this cordial and hearty greeting at the capital city of your great State. We meet in no party name. We meet in the name of the country, of patriotism, and of peace. [Cheers.] It gives me peculiar pleasure to meet the people of the home residence of that illustrious statesman, a predecessor in the Presidential office, Benjamin Harrison. [Cheers.] And I do not forget in this presence that this was the home of that other distinguished Indianian, Thomas A. Hendricks. [Cheers.] Both names are remembered by all of you, and both have been distinguished in the service of their country.

My fellow-citizens, we are here to-day because we love the old flag. [Cheers.] It never went down in defeat; it was never raised in dishonor. [Cries of "Never!" and cheers.] It means more at this hour than it ever meant in all our history. It floats to-day where it never floated before. [Cheers.] Glorious old banner —

> The same our grandsires lifted up, The same our fathers bore.

The war has been successful. It ended in a little over one hundred days. Matchless victories on land and sea! Our army and our navy are entitled to every honor that a generous nation can bestow. [Cheers.] Peerless army and navy! They have done their part; the rest remains with us. The war was inaugurated for humanity; its settlements must not overlook humanity. [Cheers.] It was not commenced in bitterness. It was not commenced in malice. It was commenced in a spirit of humanity, of freedom, to stop oppression in a neighboring island. [Cheers.] We cannot shirk the obligations of the victory if we would, and we would not if we could. [Cheers.]

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LXXXIII.

SPEECH AT RUSHVILLE, INDIANA, OCTOBER 21, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens:

I assure you of my appreciation of this gracious welcome on this inclement day. We have very much to be grateful for as a nation and a people. Providence has been very kind to us. We have been through a war which lasted only a little more than one hundred days, a war happily not on our own, but on distant shores. And in that short period we sent our boys—and your contribution was among them—seven thousand miles by sea. And yet in that short period we have achieved a victory which will be memorable in history. There has been nothing like it recorded in military annals.

Now, having triumphed in war, we must be sure that in the settlements of the war we shall see that justice and righteousness and humanity shall prevail. [Applause.] The work is now with you; for in a government like ours the people constitute the power of the government. It rests and resides with you, and your will is the command to Congress and to the Executive, and is at last formed into public law and public policy. [Applause.]

I am glad to know that my countrymen are thinking of the serious problems that are before them and before us, and I pray God we may have the wisdom to settle them with the same humanity with which our soldiers fought our great battles. [Cheers.]

LXXXIV.

SPEECH AT CONNERSVILLE, INDIANA, OCTOBER 21, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens:

The mercifulness of the war through which we have passed was one of the triumphs of American civilization. There was more humanity in it, more humane treatment of our adversary, than had probably ever characterized a previous war. For example, we sent medicines to the sick before we sent our men-of-war; we sent succor to the suffering before we sent our squadron; the sweet charity of the American people preceded the armored cruisers of the country. And when it was all over, the victorious commanders said to the defeated adversary, "Take your side-arms"—not "your side-arms and go home," but, "Take your side-arms and we will send you home." [Applause.] So that, so far as the war is concerned, we not only displayed great heroism, but we manifested great humanity; and I trust that in the final settlements of that conflict humanity will triumph, just as it triumphed in the war. [Great applause.]

LXXXV.

Remarks at College Corner, Indiana, October 21, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens:

If I had ever been uncertain about the size of Indiana, that uncertainty has been dispelled to-day. I have been speaking since seven o'clock this morning to vast audiences at every station from Logansport to your town. And now the time has come when I must say farewell to Indiana and give hail to my native State. [Great applause.]

LXXXVI.

Speech at Oxford, Ohio, October 21, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

Old Oxford is the first to give me welcome to my native State. I am glad to be in this noted college town a town that educates not only the young men, but the young women who are about me to-day. And I recall that your university has furnished to the public service some of its most conspicuous men, and others who are prominent in every walk and profession of life. I am glad to know that in Ohio, as in all the States where I have visited, the people feel delighted that the war is over, and that triumph has been given once more to the American arms, and are grateful to the army and the navy for their unprecedented victory. [Great applause.]

LXXXVII.

Speech at Hamilton, Ohio, October 21, 1893.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I recall with the pleasantest memories my former visits to your city, and whatever political differences there may have been among us then, you have always accorded me an attentive hearing and given me a cordial welcome. I am prepared, therefore, to find to-day that your hearts are just as warm as in the former days.

The country has had some notable events occurring in the past five months-events which have added luster to our history, and given a new and added meaning to American valor. Your city, like all the other cities of the country, contributed its full share of the army that made the assaults on San Juan hill and Manila [applausel, and you have heroes in your community whom, I am sure, you are glad to honor. No nation ever had a more superb army than mustered in thirty days, under the flag of the Union, to fight for the honor of the country and for the oppressed so near our shores. [Applause.] Our dear old flag, if possible, is still more dear and sacred to us to-day than it has ever been before. It represents more than it ever did before. It floats where it never floated before. [Great applause.] And I trust, my fellow-countrymen,-for I will not detain vou longer.-I trust that when we come to write the final conclusions of this struggle into the permanent form of treaty, they shall be based on justice and right and humanity. [Prolonged cheering.]

LXXXVIII.

REMARKS AT WILMINGTON, OHIO, OCTOBER 21, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens:

I cannot conceal the pleasure which I feel that you have come out this rainy night to give me welcome. I remember, with the kindliest recollections, the frequent visits which I have made to Wilmington and Clinton County in the years that have gone by. [Cheers.] There is something very close and tender about the relationship of citizens of the same State, and I never shall forget that years ago, and for long years, you committed to my care great responsibilities, and gave to me unstinted confidence. [Prolonged applause.]

LXXXIX.

REMARKS AT WASHINGTON COURT-HOUSE, OHIO, OCTOBER 21, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It has been a great while since I addressed the people of Washington Court-House. I remember many times in years past to have spoken to your people upon public questions upon which you were more or less divided. I am glad to know now that in the contest through which we have just passed, and in the conclusions which are to be reached, there is little division of sentiment among Americans. Men of all parties, men of all sections, have shared in the glories of the war, and have contributed of their bravest and their best to make that war successful. And now that hostilities have been suspended, it only remains for the people to see to it that there shall be written in the treaty of peace what was justly and fairly won by our military and naval triumphs. [Great applause.]

XC.

Speech at Columbus, Ohio, October 21, 1898.

Mr. Mayor, my Fellow-Citizens :

It is not in the unconsidered language of compliment, but with deep emotion that I undertake to make response to the generous welcome extended on behalf of the city of Columbus by your honored mayor. It seems to me like coming back home. [Great applause.] The familiar faces I see about me, the familiar songs I have heard, all make me feel that I am among my old friends with whom for four years I lived. [Applause.] I recall no four years of public service that gave me more pleasure than while serving this State, and not the least of that pleasure was the kindly social relations I had with the people of this capital city. [Applause.]

Very much has happened since I last met you in public assembly. The nation has been at war, not because it wanted war, but because it preferred it rather than to witness at its very door the sufferings of an oppressed people. [Cheers.] We entered upon it for no other purpose but that of humanity—no desire for new territory, no motive of aggrandizement, but that we might stop the oppression of a neighboring people whose cry we could almost hear. Happily for us, with our splendid army and our no less splendid navy, the war was concluded in a little more than one hundred days. Nothing like it in the military annals of the world! We sent our troops seven thousand miles by sea in the east. We sent them to the south. We had our squadron in Manila and our fleet in Santiago, which destroyed both Spanish fleets. [Cheers.] All honor to the army and the navy of the United States! [Cheering.] All honor to the regulars and the volunteers [cheering], and to the marines [cheers], black and white, of every nationality [cheers], who marched under the glorious banner of the free to a victory for God and civilization. [Enthusiastic cheering.] All honor to our sailors and seamen ! [Cheers.] We had altogether too few ships, but they had a mighty armament, and behind them were men. [Tremendous cheering.] They have done their work. They have wrought well. It remains for us now to finish the task and write in public treaty the agreements of peace. [Applause.]

Short as was the war, many of our brave boys went down in battle, never to rise again. They fell under the Stars and Stripes, fighting for humanity. Whether in camp or in field, on the battle-line, in the trenches, or on the battle-ship, they gave up their lives for their country's cause. Nor do I forget, standing in this presence, that that rugged old soldier, Colonel Poland [applause], and that other rugged soldier, Colonel Haskell [applause], brave commanders of the gallant Seventeenth Infantry [applause], have passed from human sight. They gave all they had, the best that any man has, his own life,—on the altar of their country. The brave boys fell at Santiago, making the charge of San

Juan hill; at El Caney, at Guantanamo, and at Manila and Porto Rico

They fell devoted but undying; The very gale their names seem'd sighing; The waters murmur'd of their name; The woods were peopled with their fame; The silent pillar, lone and grey, Claim'd kindred with their sacred clay; Their spirits wrapt the dusky mountain; Their memory sparkled o'er the fountain; The meanest rill, the mightiest river, Roll'd mingling with their fame forever.

Nor do I forget the promptness with which the brave boys of Ohio responded to the call of the President. [Applause.] Within forty-eight hours Ohio's quota was full. [Applause.] You will be glad to know that the Fourth Ohio [applause], made up of your sons, taken from your own homes and your own firesides, blood of your blood, did gallant service in Porto Rico, and in the very near future will be brought back to reunited homes.

My countrymen, the past is secure. We know the extent of our country now. Some additions have been made since I left you. [Laughter and applause.] Our flag floats triumphantly over Porto Rico. [Applause.] Our troops are in unquestioned possession of that island. The same flag floats over Hawaii. [Applause.] We know what our country is now in its territory, but we do not know what it may be in the near future. [Applause.] But whatever it is, whatever obligation shall justly come from this strife for humanity, we must take up and perform, and as free, strong, brave people, accept the trust which civilization puts upon us. [Enthusiastic cheers and applause.]

XCI.

REMARKS AT NEWARK, OHIO, OCTOBER 21, 1898.

Fellow-Citizens :

I am very glad to meet you all. I used to come here often in the years gone by, and I remember with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction the warm welcome you always extended to me. [Applause.] It is a great compliment, at this hour of the night, and in this inclement weather, for you to give me this manifestation of your good will. I wish for all of you the greatest prosperity and happiness. [Great applause.]

XCII.

REMARKS AT THE UNION LEAGUE BANQUET, PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER 26, 1898.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen :

I can make no response to the toast just offered by your chairman so grateful to my own heart as to ask you all to join with me in toasting the army and navy of the United States [applause], and the government officers assembled about this table, who very well typify the valor and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the republic. They bore these old flags in triumphant victory, and they brought them back to us with added glory; and without their service and sacrifice we could not celebrate the brilliant victories of the war. So I ask you to join with me in toasting the magnificent army and navy of the United States. [Great applause.]

XCIII.

Speech at the Banquet of the Clover Club, Philadelphia, October 27, 1898.

Mr. President and Gentlemen :

I cannot forego making acknowledgment to this farfamed club for the permission it has granted me to meet with you here to-night.

It has been most gratifying to me to participate with the people of the city of Philadelphia in this great patriotic celebration, a pageant the like of which I do not believe has been seen since the close of the great Civil War, when the armies of Grant and Sherman and Sheridan, and the navy of Dupont and Dahlgren and Porter gave the great review in the capital city of the nation. I know of no more fitting place to have a patriotic celebration than in this city, which witnessed the earliest consecration of liberty to the republic.

And as I stood on the reviewing stand, witnessing the soldiers and sailors passing by, my heart was filled only with gratitude—gratitude to the God of battles, who has so favored us, and gratitude to the brave soldiers and sailors who have won such signal victories on land and sea, and who have given a new meaning to American valor.

It has been especially gratifying to me to participate, not only with the people of Philadelphia, but with the people of the great West, where I have recently visited, in doing honor to the American army and the American navy. No nobler soldiers or sailors ever assembled under a flag. [Great applause.]

You had with you to-day the heroes of Santiago and Porto Rico and Guantanamo. We, unfortunately, had none of the heroes of Manila with us, and I am sure our hearts go out to them to-night—to brave Dewey [great applause], and to Merritt and Otis [great applause], and all the other gallant men who are now sustaining the flag in that distant harbor and city. [Great applause.]

Gentlemen, the American people are always ready for any emergency, and if a *Merrimac* is to be sunk there is always some one found to do it, and the young lieutenant succeeded in doing what our foe has never been able to do—sink an American ship. [Great applause.]

So I ask you, gentlemen of the Clover Club, to unite with me in toasting the army and the navy of the United States, without whose valor and sacrifice we could not celebrate the victory we have been celebrating to-day—not only the men at the front, not only the men who are on the battle-ship and the battle-line, but the men at home praying to go to fight the battles for humanity and eivilization. [Great applause.]

XCIV.

REMARKS TO FIRST DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA REGIMENT, U. S. VOLUNTEERS, AT CONVENTION HALL, WASHING-TON, D. C., NOVEMBER 17, 1898.

Mr. Commissioner and Soldiers of the First Regiment, District of Columbia :

It has given me very great pleasure to join with your fellow-citizens in participating in the exercises which give honor to this regiment. It was my good fortune to look into your faces before you started for the front; it was my good fortune to look into your faces upon your return. When you started I was filled with hope; when you returned I had a feeling of full realization that you had quite performed the high expectations I had for you. All mankind admires valor. This regiment did its whole duty, and that is all you can say of any soldier. You went where you were ordered-loyally, unmurmuringly. You did every duty that was assigned you, and you came back from the field and exposure with new honors added to the flag you carried from the city of Washington. I am glad it is possible to muster you out of the service, and yet I regret very much to see this splendid body of men leave the service of the United States. But I fully console myself, in standing here at the very threshold of your muster out, with the feeling that, if your country needed you tomorrow, every man would be ready to respond. [Great applause.]

XCV.

SPEECH BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE IN JOINT ASSEMBLY AT THE STATE CAPITOL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, DECEM-BER 14, 1898.

Mr. President and Gentlemen :

It is with more than common pleasure that I meet these representatives of this great State. I am more than glad to be with you here at this time and share with you in the general rejoicing over the signing of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain.

Sectional lines no longer mar the map of the United States. [Great applause.] Sectional feeling no longer holds back the love we bear each other. [Applause.] Fraternity is the national anthem, sung by a chorus of forty-five States and our Territories at home and beyond the seas. [Applause.] The Union is once more the common altar of our love and loyalty, our devotion and sacrifice. The old flag again waves over us in peace, with new glories which your sons and ours have this vear added to its sacred folds. What cause we have for rejoicing, saddened only by the fact that so many of our brave men fell on the field or sickened and died from hardship and exposure, and others returning bring wounds and disease from which they will long suffer. The memory of the dead will be a precious legacy, and the disabled will be the nation's care. [Applause.]

A nation which cares for its disabled soldiers as we have always done will never lack defenders. The national cemeteries for those who fell in battle are proof that the dead as well as the living have our love. What an army of silent sentinels we have, and with what loving care their graves are kept! Every soldier's grave made during our unfortunate Civil War is a tribute to American valor. [Applause.] And while, when those graves were made, we differed widely about the future of this government, those differences were long ago settled by the arbitrament of arms; and the time has now come, in the evolution of sentiment and feeling under the providence of God, when in the spirit of fraternity we should share with you in the care of the graves of the Confederate soldiers. [Tremendous applause and long-continued cheering.]

The cordial feeling now happily existing between the North and South prompts this gracious act, and if it needed further justification, it is found in the gallant loyalty to the Union and the flag so conspicuously shown in the year just past by the sons and grandsons of these heroic dead. [Tremendous applause.]

What a glorious future awaits us if unitedly, wisely, and bravely we face the new problems now pressing upon us, determined to solve them for right and humanity! [Prolonged applause and repeated cheers.]

XCVI.

Speech at the Auditorium, Atlanta, Georgia, December 15, 1898.

Governor Candler, President Hemphill, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I cannot withhold from this people my profound thanks for their hearty reception and the good will which they have shown me everywhere and in every way since I have been their guest. I thank them for the opportunity which this occasion gives me of meeting them, and for the pleasure it affords me to participate with them in honoring the army and the navy, to whose achievements we are indebted for one of the most brilliant chapters of American history.

Other parts of the country have had their public thanksgivings and jubilees in honor of the historic events of the past year, but nowhere has there been greater rejoicing than among the people here, the gathered representatives of the South. I congratulate them upon their accurate observation of events, which enabled them to fix a date which insured them the privilege of being the first to celebrate the signing of the treaty of peace by the American and Spanish commissioners. Under hostile fire on a foreign soil, fighting in a common cause, the memory of old disagreements has faded into history. From camp and campaign there comes the magic healing which has closed ancient wounds and effaced their scars. For this result every American patriot will forever rejoice. It is no small indemnity for the cost of the war.

This government has proved itself invincible in the recent war, and out of it has come a nation which will remain indivisible forevermore. [Applause.] No worthier contributions have been made in patriotism and in men than by the people of these Southern States. When at last the opportunity came they were eager to meet it, and with promptness responded to the call of country. Intrusted with the able leadership of men dear to them, who had marched with their fathers under another flag, now fighting under the old flag again, they have gloriously helped to defend its spotless folds, and added new luster to its shining stars. That flag has been planted in two hemispheres, and there it remains the symbol of liberty and law, of peace and progress. [Great applause.] Who will withdraw from the people over whom it floats its protecting folds? Who will haul it down? Answer me, ye men of the South, who is there in Dixie who will haul it down? [Tremendous applause.]

The victory we celebrate is not that of a ruler, a President, or a Congress, but of the people. [Applause.] The army whose valor we admire, and the navy whose achievements we applaud, were not assembled by draft or conscription, but from voluntary enlistment. The heroes came from civil as well as military life. Trained and untrained soldiers wrought our triumphs.

The peace we have won is not a selfish truce of arms, but one whose conditions presage good to humanity. The domains secured under the treaty yet to be acted upon by the Senate came to us not as the result of a crusade or conquest, but as the reward of temperate, faithful, and fearless response to the call of conscience, which could not be disregarded by a liberty-loving and Christian people.

We have so borne ourselves in the conflict and in our intercourse with the powers of the world as to escape complaint or complication, and give universal confidence in our high purpose and unselfish sacrifices for struggling peoples. The task is not fulfilled. Indeed, it is only just begun. The most serious work is still before us, and every energy of heart and mind must be bent, and the impulses of partizanship subordinated, to its faithful execution. This is the time for earnest, not faint, hearts.

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"New occasions teach new duties." To this nation and to every nation there come formative periods in its life and history. New conditions can be met only by new methods. Meeting these conditions hopefully, and facing them bravely and wisely, is to be the mightiest test of American virtue and capacity. Without abandoning past limitations, traditions, and principles, by meeting present opportunities and obligations, we shall show ourselves worthy of the great trusts which civilization has imposed upon us. [Great applause.]

At Bunker Hill liberty was at stake; at Gettysburg the Union was the issue; before Manila and Santiago our armies fought, not for gain or revenge, but for human rights. They contended for the freedom of the oppressed, for whose welfare the United States has never failed to lend a helping hand to establish and uphold, and, I believe, never will. The glories of the war cannot be dimmed, but the result will be incomplete and unworthy of us unless supplemented by civil victories, harder possibly to win, but in their way no less indispensable. [Great applause.]

We will have our difficulties and our embarrassments. They follow all victories and accompany all great responsibilities. They are inseparable from every great movement or reform. But American capacity has triunphed over all in the past. [Applause.] Doubts have in the end vanished. Apparent dangers have been averted or avoided, and our own history shows that progress has come so naturally and steadily on the heels of new and grave responsibilities that, as we look back upon the acquisitions of territory by our fathers, we are filled with wonder that any doubt could have existed or any apprehension could have been felt of the wisdom of their action or their capacity to grapple with the then untried and mighty problems. [Great applause.]

The republic is to-day larger, stronger, and better prepared than ever before for wise and profitable development in new directions and along new lines. Even if the minds of some of our own people are still disturbed by perplexing and anxious doubts, in which all of us have shared and still share, the genius of American civilization will, I believe, be found both original and creative, and capable of subserving all the great interests which shall be confided to our keeping. [Applause.]

Forever in the right, following the best impulses and clinging to high purposes, using properly and within right limits our power and opportunities, honorable reward must inevitably follow. The outcome cannot be in doubt. We could have avoided all the difficulties that lie across the pathway of the nation if a few months ago we had coldly ignored the piteous appeals of the starving and oppressed inhabitants of Cuba. If we had blinded ourselves to the conditions so near our shores, and turned a deaf ear to our suffering neighbors, the issue of territorial expansion in the Antilles and the East Indies would not have been raised.

But could we have justified such a course? [General cry of "No!"] Is there any one who would now declare another to have been the better course? [Cries of "No!"] With less humanity and less courage on our part, the Spanish flag, instead of the Stars and Stripes, would still be floating at Cavite, at Ponce, and at Santiago, and a "chance in the race of life" would be wanting to millions of human beings who to-day call

this nation noble, and who, I trust, will live to call it blessed.

Thus far we have done our supreme duty. Shall we now, when the victory won in war is written in the treaty of peace, and the civilized world applauds and waits in expectation, turn timidly away from the duties imposed upon the country by its own great deeds? And when the mists fade away and we see with clear vision, may we not go forth rejoicing in a strength which has been employed solely for humanity and always tempered with justice and mercy, confident of our ability to meet the exigencies which await us, because confident that our course is one of duty and our cause that of right? [Prolonged applause.]

XCVII.

Speech at the Banquet at Atlanta, Georgia, December 15, 1898.

Mr. Toastmaster, Gentlemen:

I am not a stranger to your hospitality. You have always given me a courteous and cordial reception. My first visit was under the auspices of your fellow-citizen, Captain Howell, and another distinguished Georgian, the brilliant Grady, since called from the field of activity where he was at the height of his usefulness, and where the whole nation could illy spare him, and sorrowed at his untimely death. Then we were engaged in an economic discussion, in which honest differences of opinion prevailed and heated discussion ruled the hour. I do not forget that then, although advocating the theory of taxation seemingly opposed to the majority

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sentiment of your State and city, you accorded me an impartial hearing. Stranger that I was to all of you, you made me feel at home, and from that hour Atlanta won my heart. [Applause.] My subsequent visits have only served to increase my admiration for your enterprising city.

Four years have gone since I last met the people of Georgia in public assembly. Much has happened in the intervening time. The nation has been at war, not within its own shores, but with a foreign power—a war waged, not for revenge or aggrandizement, but for our oppressed neighbors, for their freedom and amelioration. [Applause.]

It was short but decisive. It recorded a succession of significant victories on land and sea. It gave new honors to American arms. It has brought new problems to the republic, whose solution will tax the genius of our people. United we will meet and solve them with honor to ourselves and to the lasting benefit of all concerned. [Great applause.] The war brought us together; its settlement will keep us together. [Continued applause.]

Reunited! Glorious realization! It expresses the thought of my mind and the long-deferred consummation of my heart's desire as I stand in this presence. It interprets the hearty demonstration here witnessed, and is the patriotic refrain of all sections and of all lovers of the republic. [Applause.]

Reunited—one country again and one country forever! Proclaim it from the press and pulpit; teach it in the schools; write it across the skies! The world sees and feels it; it cheers every heart North and South, and brightens the life of every American home. Let nothing ever strain it again! At peace with all the world and with one another, what can stand in the pathway of our progress and prosperity? [Long-continued applause.]

XCVIII.

Speech at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, December 16, 1898.

Teachers and Pupils of Tuskegee :

To meet you under such pleasant auspices and have the opportunity of a personal observation of your work is indeed most gratifying. The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute is ideal in conception, and has already a large and growing reputation in the country, and is not unknown abroad. I congratulate all who are associated in this undertaking for the good work which it is doing in the education of its students to lead lives of honor and usefulness, thus exalting the race for which it was established.

Nowhere, I think, could a more delightful location have been chosen for this unique educational experiment, which has attracted the attention and won the support even of conservative philanthropists in all sections of the country.

To speak of Tuskegee without paying special tribute to Booker T. Washington's genius and perseverance would be impossible. The inception of this noble enterprise was his, and he deserves high credit for it. His was the enthusiasm and enterprise which made its steady progress possible, and established in the institution its present high standard of accomplishment. He

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has won a worthy reputation as one of the great leaders of his race, widely known and much respected at home and abroad as an accomplished educator, a great orator, and a true philanthropist.

What steady and gratifying advances have been made here during the past fifteen years, a personal inspection of the material equipment strikingly proves. The patronage and resources have been largely increased, until even the legislative department of the State of Alabama, and finally the Congress of the United States, recognized the worth of the work and the great opportunities here afforded. From one small frame house the Institute has grown until it includes the fine group of dormitories, recitation-rooms, lecture-halls, and workshops which have so surprised and delighted us to-day. A thousand students, I am told, are here cared for by nearly a hundred teachers, all together forming, with the preparatory department, a symmetrical scholastic community which has been well called a model for the industrial colored schools of the South. Certain it is that a pupil bent on fitting himself or herself for mechanical work can here have the widest choice of useful and domestic occupations.

One thing I like about this institution is that its policy has been generous and progressive; it is not so selfcentered or interested in its own pursuits and ambitions as to ignore what is going on in the rest of the country, or make it difficult for outsiders to share the local advantages. I allude especially to the spirit in which the annual conferences have been here held by leading colored eitizens and educators, with the intention of improving the condition of their less fortunate brothers and sisters. Here, we can see, is an immense field, and one which cannot too soon or too carefully be utilized. The conferences have grown in popularity, and are well calculated not only to encourage colored men and colored women in their individual efforts, but to cultivate and promote an amicable relationship between the two races—a problem whose solution was never more needed than at the present time. Patience, moderation, selfcontrol, knowledge, character will surely win you victories and realize the best aspirations of your people. An evidence of the soundness of the purposes of this institution is that those in charge of its management evidently do not believe in attempting the unattainable, and their instruction in self-reliance and practical industry is most valuable.

In common with the Hampton Institute in Virginia, the Tuskegee Institute has been, and is to-day, of inestimable value in sowing the seeds of good citizenship. Institutions of their standing and worthy patronage form a steadier and more powerful agency for the good of all concerned than any other yet proposed or suggested. The practical is here associated with the academic, encouraging both learning and industry. Here you learn to master yourselves, find the best adaptation of your faculties, with advantages for advanced learning to meet the high duties of life.

No country, epoch, or race has a monopoly upon knowledge. Some have easier, but not necessarily better, opportunities for self-development. What a few can obtain free, most have to pay for, perhaps by hard physical labor, mental struggle, and self-denial. But in this great country all can have the opportunity for bettering themselves, provided they exercise intelligence and perseverance, and their motives and conduct are worthy. Nowhere are such facilities for universal education found as in the United States. They are accessible to every boy and girl, white or black.

Integrity and industry are the best possessions which any man can have, and every man can have them. Nobody can give them to him or take them from him. He cannot acquire them by inheritance; he cannot buy them or beg them or borrow them. They belong to the individual and are his unquestioned property. He alone can part with them. They are a good thing to have and keep. They make happy homes; they achieve success in every walk of life ; they have won the greatest triumphs for mankind. No man who has them ever gets into the police court or before the grand jury or in the workhouse or the chain-gang. They give one moral and material power. They will bring you a comfortable living, make you respect yourself, and command the respect of your fellows. They are indispensable to success. They are invincible. The merchant requires the clerk whom he employs to have them. The railroad corporation inquires whether the man seeking employment possesses them. Every avenue of human endeavor welcomes them. They are the only keys to open with certainty the door of opportunity to struggling manhood. Employment waits on them: capital requires them; citizenship is not good without them. If you do not already have them, get them.

To the pupils here assembled I extend my especial congratulations that the facilities for advancement afforded to them are so numerous and so inviting. Those who are here for the time being have the reputation of the institution in charge, and should therefore be all the more careful to guard it worthily. Others who have gone before you have made great sacrifices to reach the present results. What you do will affect not only those who come after you here, but many men and women whom you may never meet. The results of your training and work here will eventually be felt, either directly or indirectly, in nearly every part of the country.

Most of you are young, and youth is the time best fitted for development both of the body and of the mind. Whatever you do, do with all your might, with will and purpose, not of the selfish kind, but looking to benefit your race and your country. In comparing the past with the present, you should be especially grateful that it has been your good fortune to come within the influences of such an institution as that of Tuskegee, and that you are under the guidance of such a strong leader. I thank him most cordially for the pleasure of visiting this institution, and I bring to all here associated my good will and the best wishes of your countrymen, wishing you the realization of success in whatever undertakings may hereafter engage you.

XCIX.

- Speech to the General Assembly and Citizens in the State Capitol, Montgomery, Alabama, December 16, 1898.
- Mr. President, Gentlemen of the General Assembly, Fellow-Citizens :

The warm heart-welcome which has been given to me by the citizens of Alabama has deeply touched me, and I cannot find language to express my gratitude and appreciation. To be welcomed here in the city of Montgomery, the first capital of the Confederate States, warmly and enthusiastically welcomed as the President of a common country, has filled and thrilled me with emotion. Once the capital of the Confederacy, now the capital of a great State, one of the indestructible States of an indestructible Union !

The governor says he has nothing to take back. We have nothing to take back for having kept you in the Union. We are glad you did not go out, and you are glad you stayed in. [Tremendous applause.]

Alabama, like all the States of the Union, North and South, has been loval to the flag and steadfastly devoted to the American name and to American honor. There never has been in the history of the United States such a demonstration of patriotism, from one end of this country to the other, as in the year just passing: and never has American valor been more brilliantly illustrated in the battle-line on shore and on the battle-ship at sea than by the soldiers and sailors of the United States. Everybody is talking of Hobson, and justly so; but I want to thank Mother Hobson in this presence. Everybody is talking about General Wheeler, one of the bravest of the brave; but I want to speak of that sweet little daughter who followed him to Santiago [great applause], and ministered to the sick soldiers at Montauk, [Cheers.] I have spoken at many places and at many times of the heroism of the American army and the American navy, but in our recent conflict the whole people were patriots. Two hundred thousand men were called for and a million rushed to get a place in the ranks. [Great applause.] And millions more stood ready if need be. [Prolonged applause.]

I like the feeling of the American people that we ought not to have a large standing army; but it has been demonstrated in the last few months that we need the standing army large enough to do all the work required while we are at peace, and can rely upon the great body of the people in an emergency to help us fight our battles. [Applause.]

We love peace; we are not a military nation: but whenever the time of peril comes, the bulwark of this people is the patriotism of its citizens; and this nation will be safe for all time because seventy-five millions of people love it and will give up their lives to sustain and uphold it. [Great applause.]

I thank you, my fellow-citizens, for this generous welcome which you have given me to-day, and I shall go back to my duties at our capital feeling that we have a united country that acknowledges allegiance to but one authority, and will march forever unitedly under one flag, the Stars and Stripes. [Tremendous cheering and applause.]

С.

Speech at Banquet of Board of Trade and Associated Citizens, Savannah, Georgia, December 17, 1898.

Mr. President, Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Words are poor indeed to respond fittingly to the earnest and heartfelt welcome which has been extended to me and those who accompany me since we have been in your historic city—a city whose life began before that of the government, and which has ever since kept pace with the progress and the glory of the government. I feel here to-night that once more the North and the South are together, and are now contending in generous rivalry to express their devotion to the institutions which they have established and the land which we all love. [Applause.]

There is cause for congratulation that with the grave problems before us, growing out of the war with Spain, we are free from any divisions at home.

Our financial and revenue policies cannot be changed for at least four years; and whatever legislation may be had affecting them during that period will be to improve and strengthen, not destroy them. [Applause.]

The public mind can, therefore, repose in reasonable security, while business will proceed without apprehension of serious and sudden changes, so disturbing to the commercial world and so distracting to the business man. All of which is fortunate for the country, for every interest and every section of the country. Even those who desire other and different policies prefer permanence to constant change, or, what is almost as hurtful, the fear of change. There are happily now no domestic differences to check the progress and prosperity of the country, which our peaceful relations with the whole world will encourage and strengthen.

This is fortunate, too, in another sense. It leaves the country free to consider and discuss new questions which are immediately before us, unbiased by party or past political alliances. These new questions are to be thought out and wrought out, not in a spirit of partizanship, but in a spirit of patriotism; not for the temporary advantage of one party or the other, but for the lasting advantage of the country. [Applause.] Neither prejudice nor passion nor previous condition can embarrass the free action and calm judgment of the citizen. We have entered upon new paths. We are treading in an unexplored field which will test our wisdom and statesmanship. The chief consideration is one of duty; our action must be controlled by it. No settlement is admissible which will not preserve our honor and promote the best interests of all concerned. With a united country and the gathered wisdom of all the people, seeking only the right, inspired only by high purposes, moved only by duty and humanity, we cannot err. We may be baffled or deterred and often discouraged; but final success in a cause which is altogether unselfish and humanitarian can only be deferred, not prevented. [Applause.]

If, following the clear precepts of duty, territory falls to us, and the welfare of an alien people requires our guidance and protection, who will shrink from the responsibility, grave though it may be? [Applause.] Can we leave these people, who, by the fortunes of war and our own acts, are helpless and without government, to chaos and anarchy, after we have destroyed the only government they have had? [Applause.] Having destroyed their government, it is the duty of the American people to provide for them a better one. [Applause.] Shall we distrust ourselves, shall we proclaim to the world our inability to give kindly government to oppressed peoples whose future by the victories of war is confided to us? We may wish it were otherwise, but who will question our duty now? It is not a question of keeping the islands of the East, but of leaving them. [Applause.] Dewey and Merritt took them [great applause], and the country instantly and universally applauded. Could we have brought Dewey away without universal condemnation at any time from the 1st of Mav. the day of his brilliant victory which thrilled the world with its boldness and heroism? [Great applause.] Was it right to order Dewey to go to Manila and capture or destroy the Spanish fleet, and despatch Merritt and his army to reinforce him? [Cries of "Yes!" Great applause.] If it was duty to send them there, and duty required them to remain there, it was their clear duty to annihilate the fleet, take the city of Manila, and destroy the Spanish sovereignty in the archipelago. [Continued applause.] Having done all that in the line of duty, is there any less duty to remain there and give to the inhabitants protection and also our guidance to a better government, which will secure to them peace and order and security in their life and property and in the pursuit of happiness? [Applause.] Are we unable to do this? [General cry of "No!"] Are we to sit down in our isolation and recognize no obligation to a struggling people whose present conditions we have contributed to make? I would rather have the confidence of the poet Bryant, when he exclaims:

> Thou, my country, thou shalt never fall— Seas and stormy air Are the wide barrier of thy borders, where Among thy gallant sons that guard thee well Thou laugh'st at enemies. Who shall then declare The date of thy deep-founded strength, or tell How happy, in thy lap, the sons of men shall dwell?

My fellow-citizens, whatever covenants duty has made for us in the year 1898 we must keep. [Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.]

Speech at Georgia Agricultural and Mechanical College, Savannah, December 18, 1898.

Fellow-Citizens :

This scene has profoundly impressed me, and I have been deeply moved by the eloquent words and the exalted sentiments which have been uttered by the two gentlemen whom you delegated to speak in your behalf. It gives me peculiar pleasure to meet you, and to meet you in this institution of learning, presided over by one whom I have known for more than twenty years, and whom I have come to admire and respect as one of the leaders of your race. I congratulate him and all associated with him in the good work done here for the exaltation of your people. I congratulate all of you upon the advance made by you in the last third of a century. You are entitled to all the praise and high commendation which, I am sure, you receive from your white fellow-citizens in this and every part of the country.

I congratulate you upon your acquirement of property. Many of your race have large properties on the tax lists in the several States, and in that way contribute proportionately to the support of the government.

I congratulate you on what you have done in learning and the acquirement of useful knowledge; and on the fact that in the United States there is not a foot of ground beneath the flag where every boy and every girl, white or black, cannot have an education to fit them for the battle of life. Keep on, is the word I would leave with you to-day. Keep on in the efforts upward, but remember that in acquiring knowledge there is one thing equally important, and that is character. Nothing in the whole wide world is worth so much, will last so long, and serve its possessor so well as good character. It is something that no one can take from you, that no one can give to you. You must acquire it for yourself.

There is another thing. Do not forget the home. The home is the foundation of good individual life and of good government. Cultivate good homes, make them pure and sweet, elevate them, and other good things will follow. I congratulate you that this institution is not only looking after the head, but after the hand. I congratulate you that it is making not only good orators, but good mechanics. It is better to be a skilled mechanic than a poor orator or an indifferent preacher. [Great applause.] In a word, each of you must want to be best in whatever you undertake. Nothing in the world commands more respect than skill and industry. Every avenue is open to them.

I congratulate you upon the valor of your race. My friend, the president of your college, has made an allusion in his speech to what, many years ago, I said in a public address. I told of a white colonel who had delivered the flag of our country to his black colorsergeant, and said to him :

"Sergeant, I place in your hand this sacred flag. Fight for it, yes, die for it, but never surrender it to the hands of the enemy."

That black soldier, with love of country and pride in his heart, answered: "I will bring the flag back in honor, colonel, or report to God the reason why." In one battle, in carrying that flag of freedom, he was stricken down. He fell with the folds of the flag wrapped about him, bathed in his blood. He did not bring it back, but God knew the reason why. He did all he could, all any man could. He gave his heart's blood for the flag.

At San Juan hill and at El Caney—but General Wheeler is here [great applause]; I know he can tell you better than I can of the heroism of the black regiments which fought side by side with the white troops on those historic fields.

Mr. Lincoln was right when, speaking of the black men, he said that the time might come when they would help to preserve and extend freedom. And in a third of a century you have been among those who have given liberty in Cuba to an oppressed people.

I leave with you this one word: Keep on. You will solve your own problem. Be patient, be progressive, be determined, be honest, be God-fearing, and you will win, for no effort fails that has a stout, honest, earnest heart behind it. [Great applause.]

CII.

SPEECH AT MACON GEORGIA, DECEMBER 19, 1898.

Fellow-Citizens:

It gives me very great pleasure to visit the city of Macon, with many of whose citizens I have been associated in public life. It has given me pleasure to witness the review of the soldiers of the United States. How much, indeed, has this nation to be thankful for at this hour! With what reverent gratitude we should express our thankfulness to a divine Providence that has so tenderly cared for the American people! We have been at war with a foreign power. That war ended after one hundred and thirteen days of conflict—a conflict on two oceans, a conflict in the West and East Indies, twelve thousand miles apart; with fifty thousand of our own soldiers on distant shores, and twenty thousand sailors and marines afloat; with a loss in army and navy of less than two thousand, and without the loss of ship or sailor or soldier or flag by capture. [Applause.] Never was there a more magnificent army mustered, and never was there an army mustered for a holier cause, or under a more glorious flag than the Stars and Stripes. [Cheers and great applause.]

On the twenty-fourth day of this month, the day before Christmas, our peace commissioners will deliver to the President of the United States a treaty of peace—peace with honor, peace with the blessings of liberty to struggling peoples, East and West. [Applause.]

I congratulate my country upon another fact. We have not only triumphed over our enemy, but we have triumphed over our own prejudices and are now a united country. [Prolonged applause and cheers.]

It has done my heart good to witness the demonstrations of patriotism from one end of this country to the other. Six weeks ago I went to the extreme West. I met the wave of patriotism there. I come to the South and I witness the same spirit of loyalty and devotion to a common country, with a common faith, under a common flag. [Applause.]

I know this great audience wants to see the heroes of the war. [Applause.] They are here with you-Shafter and Wheeler and Lawton and Wilson and Bates and others who were conspicuous in the recent conflict. [Cheers.] And I give way that you may have the pleasure of meeting them and other distinguished gentlemen who are in my company as I journey through the South. [Great applause.]

CIII.

REMARKS AT MILLEDGEVILLE, GEORGIA, DECEMBER 19, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It is to me a very great pleasure to meet the citizens of Milledgeville, the old capital of the State of Georgia. In my trip through your State I have been received with a real warmth of welcome, and I assure you that it is appreciated from the depths of my heart.

I am glad to know that once more this country, North and South, all the people of all the sections, are animated by one purpose, one aim, one hope for a common destiny under the dear old banner of the free. [Great applause and cheers.] And nothing gives me more satisfaction than to feel that as the President, called by the suffrages of the people, I am permitted to preside over a nation, rich with glorious memories of glorious deeds, now united in an unbroken and never-to-be-broken Union. [Enthusiastic applause.]

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CIV.

SPEECH AT AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, DECEMBER 19, 1898.

Mr. Chairman, my Fellow-Citizens :

I have been received by many people in many places, East and West, North and South, but nowhere have I had welcome that has given me greater pleasure than the one you extend to me here to-day. I wish it were in my power to make suitable response to the gracious and eloquent words of him whom you have chosen to speak in your behalf—my old friend, whom I met for the first time in the Congress of the United States.

It is indeed an honor to me, and one that shall never be forgotten, to stand in the place associated with the names of Washington and Lafayette and Clay and Webster. It is also a pleasure to me to be in the city where that gallant cavalry officer, General Joe Wheeler, was born. [Applause.] It is a pleasure for me to meet in this welcome these veterans of the gray, these ex-Confederate soldiers [applause], and to feel that in common with all their fellow-citizens their hearts are in touch with the aims and purposes of this great republic. [Applause.]

What a wonderful country we have! With what pride its contemplation fills us all! When Washington was here we had a little over three millions of people. We have seventy-five millions to-day. We have added vastly to our territory. We are to-day the largest manufacturing and the largest agricultural nation of the world. [Applause.] Our commerce floats on every sea; and only day before yesterday I saw that a thousand tons of American ship's plates had been landed at Glasgow, Scotland, and, what is even more significant, it was carried on a ship bearing the American flag. [Applause.]

I congratulate you upon the prosperity of the country. I congratulate you upon the progress it has made in the last third of a century; and I congratulate you more because as a people we are more united, more devoted to noble and common purposes than we have been since the foundation of the federal Union. [Applause.] There are no divisions now. We stood united before a foreign foe. We will stand united until every triumph of that war has been made permanent. [Applause.]

This, my fellow-citizens, is a fitting conclusion of a most remarkable trip. Only as one star differs from another is this different from what has greeted us at every step. They have all been glorious; and I leave this inspiring picture, I leave this wonderful manifestation of gracious hospitality, this scene of devotedness to country and flag, with memories that I shall carry with me so long as life lasts. [Applause.] And in this sentiment every one associated with me, I am sure, fully shares. I go back to my public duties at Washington strengthened by your warm hearts' touch [applause] and encouraged to meet the grave responsibilities which await me as the servant of all the people, feeling that I shall have your support and your prayers that I may perform those duties to the honor of my country and to the best well-being of all concerned. [Prolonged applause.]

CV.

Speech at Columbia, South Carolina, December 19, 1898.

My Fellow-Citizens :

This stop was not a part of our itinerary ; but it is as agreeable as it was unexpected that I am permitted to greet my fellow-citizens of the city of Columbia. I am glad to meet the citizens of the State and also the soldiers of the United States encamped in your vicinity. A government like ours rests upon the intelligence, morality, and patriotism of the people. These constitute our strength; and in a history of more than a hundred years filled with great achievements and marked by unparalleled progress, they have never failed. They make good citizenship, and good citizenship is necessary to material advancement. The majority of the people have always been on the side of right action and good government. In this year 1898, one of the most glorious, there have been such manifestations of good feeling, of good will, of loyalty, upon the part of all the people of all sections of the country, as have been unprecedented in our history. [Applause.] Each has rivaled the other in devotion to the old flag. [Applause.] It is a happy omen for our country in view of the vast problems that await us in the near future. And let us here in South Carolina, and in every other State of the American Union, devote ourselves to the preservation of this great political structure, resolved that the "government of the people, by

the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth." It cannot so long as it continues deeply rooted in the affection of its citizens. [Applause.]

CVI.

REMARKS AT NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT, FEBRUARY 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

This unexpected call upon the part of my fellowcitizens of the State of Connecticut is most gratifying to me. I congratulate you all upon the splendid business conditions of our country; upon the patriotism of our people; upon a peace that has been secured with honor to the valor of our soldiers on land and the heroism of our sailors on sea. We have a great country, one in which we all feel a just and sincere pride; and to us, and to those who shall come after us, will be transmitted the responsibility of preserving unimpaired the liberty we now enjoy, and of carrying forward to future generations its free institutions. [Great applause.]

CVII.

Speech at Dinner of the Home Market Club, Boston, February 16, 1899.

Mr. President, Members of the Home Market Club, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I have been deeply and profoundly moved by this manifestation of your good will and the cordial welcome extended by the governor of your great commonwealth, as well as by the chief executive officer of this the principal city of your State. I thank the governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, I thank the mayor of the city of Boston, for their warm and generous words of greeting.

My fellow-citizens, the years go quickly. It seems not so long, but it is, in fact, six years, since it was my honor to be a guest of the Home Market Club. Much has happened in the intervening time. Issues which were then engaging us have been settled or put aside for larger and more absorbing ones. Domestic conditions have improved and are generally satisfactory. We have made progress in industry and have realized the prosperity for which we have been striving. We had four long years of adversity, which taught us some lessons that will never be unlearned, and which will be valuable in guiding our future action. We have not only been successful in our financial and business affairs. but in a war with a foreign power which has added great glory to American arms and a new chapter to American history. [Great applause.]

I do not know why, in the year 1899, this republic has unexpectedly had placed before it mighty problems which it must face and meet. They have come and are here, and they could not be kept away. Many who were impatient for the conflict a year ago, apparently heedless of its larger results, are the first to cry out against the far-reaching consequences of their own act. Those of us who dreaded war most, and whose every effort was directed to prevent it, had fears of new and grave problems which might follow its inauguration.

The evolution of events, which no man could control, has brought these problems upon us. Certain it is that they have not come through any fault on our own part, but as a high obligation; and we meet them with clear conscience and unselfish purpose, and with good heart resolve to undertake their solution. [Applause.]

War was declared in April, 1898, with practical unanimity by Congress, and, once upon us, was sustained by like unanimity among the people. There had been many who tried to avert it, as, on the other hand, there were many who would have precipitated it at an early date. In its prosecution and conclusion the great majority of our countrymen of every section believed they were fighting in a just cause, and at home or at sea or in the field they had part in its glorious triumphs. It was the war of an undivided nation. Every great act in its progress, from Manila to Santiago, from Guam to Porto Rico, met universal and hearty commendation. The protocol commanded the practically unanimous approval of the American people. It was welcomed by every lover of peace beneath the flag.

The Philippines, like Cuba and Porto Rico, were intrusted to our hands by the war, and to that great trust, under the providence of God and in the name of human progress and civilization, we are committed. [Great applause.] It is a trust we have not sought; it is a trust from which we will not flinch. The American people will hold up the hands of their servants at home to whom they commit its execution, while Dewey and Otis and the brave men whom they command will have the support of the country in upholding our flag where it now floats, the symbol and assurance of liberty and justice. [Great applause.]

What nation was ever able to write an accurate program of the war upon which it was entering, much less decree in advance the scope of its results? Congress can declare war, but a higher Power decrees its bounds and fixes its relations and responsibilities. The President can direct the movements of soldiers in the field and fleets upon the sea, but he cannot foresee the close of such movements or prescribe their limits. He cannot anticipate or avoid the consequences, but he must meet them. No accurate map of nations engaged in war can be traced until the war is over, nor can the measure of responsibility be fixed till the last gun is fired and the verdict embodied in the stipulations of peace.

We hear no complaint of the relations created by the war between this government and the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. There are some, however, who regard the Philippines as in a different relation; but whatever variety of views there may be on this phase of the question, there is universal agreement that the Philippines shall not be turned back to Spain. [Great applause.] No true American consents to that. Even if unwilling to accept them ourselves, it would have been a weak evasion of duty to require Spain to transfer them to some other power or powers, and thus shirk our own responsibility. Even if we had had, as we did not have, the power to compel such a transfer, it could not have been made without the most serious international complications. Such a course could not be thought of. And yet, had we refused to accept the cession of them, we should have had no power over them, even for their own good. We could not discharge the responsibilities upon us until these islands became ours either by conquest or treaty. There was but one alternative, and that was either Spain or the United States in the Philippines. [Prolonged applause.] The other suggestions-first, that they should be tossed into the arena of contention for the strife of nations; or, second, be left to the anarchy and chaos of no protectorate at all-were too shameful to be considered. The treaty gave them to the United States. Could we have required less and done our duty? [Cries of "No!"] Could we after freeing the Filipinos from the domination of Spain, have left them without government and without power to protect life or property or to perform the international obligations essential to an independent state? Could we have left them in a state of anarchy and justified ourselves in our own consciences or before the tribunal of mankind? Could we have done that in the sight of God or man?

Our concern was not for territory or trade or empire, but for the people whose interests and destiny, without our willing it, had been put in our hands. [Great applause.] It was with this feeling that, from the first day to the last, not one word or line went from the Executive in Washington to our military and naval commanders

at Manila, or to our peace commissioners at Paris. that did not put as the sole purpose to be kept in mind, first after the success of our arms and the maintenance of our own honor, the welfare and happiness and the rights of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. [Great and long-continued applause.] Did we need their consent to perform a great act for humanity? We had it in every aspiration of their minds, in every hope of their hearts. Was it necessary to ask their consent to capture Manila, the capital of their islands? [Laughter.] Did we ask their consent to liberate them from Spanish sovereignty, or to enter Manila Bay and destroy the Spanish sea-power there? We did not ask these things: we were obeying a higher moral obligation, which rested on us and which did not require anybody's consent. [Great applause and cheering.] We were doing our duty by them, as God gave us the light to see our duty, with the consent of our own consciences and with the approval of civilization. [Applause.] Every present obligation has been met and fulfilled in the expulsion of Spanish sovereignty from their islands; and while the war that destroyed it was in progress we could not ask their views. Nor can we now ask their consent. Indeed, can any one tell me in what form it could be marshaled and ascertained until peace and order, so necessary to the reign of reason, shall be secured and established? [Applause.] A reign of terror is not the kind of rule under which right action and deliberate judgment are possible. It is not a good time for the liberator to submit important questions concerning liberty and government to the liberated while they are engaged in shooting down their rescuers. [Applause and cheering.]

We have now ended the war with Spain. The treaty has been ratified by the votes of more than two thirds of the Senate of the United States, and by the judgment of nine tenths of its people. [Applause.] No nation was ever more fortunate in war or more honorable in its negotiations in peace. Spain is now eliminated from the problem. It remains to ask what we shall now do. I do not intrude upon the duties of Congress or seek to anticipate or forestall its action. I only say that the treaty of peace, honorably secured, having been ratified by the United States, and, as we confidently expect, shortly to be ratified by Spain, Congress will have the power, and I am sure the purpose, to do what, in good morals, is right and just and humane for these peoples in distant seas. [Applause.]

It is sometimes hard to determine what is best to do. and the best thing to do is oftentimes the hardest. The prophet of evil would do nothing [laughter] because he flinches at sacrifice and effort, and to do nothing is easiest and involves the least cost. [Laughter.] On those who have things to do there rests a responsibility which is not on those who have no obligations as doers. If the doubters were in a majority, there would, it is true, be no labor, no sacrifice, no anxiety, and no burden raised or carried; no contribution from our ease and purse and comfort to the welfare of others, or even to the extension of our resources to the welfare of our-There would be ease, but alas! there would be selves. nothing done.

But grave problems come in the life of a nation, however much men may seek to avoid them. They come without our seeking,—why, we do not know, and it is not always given us to know,—but the generation on which they are forced cannot avoid the responsibility of honestly striving for their solution. [Applause.] We may not know precisely how to solve them, but we can make an honest effort to that end, and if made in conscience, justice, and honor it will not be in vain.

The future of the Philippine Islands is now in the hands of the American people. [Applause.] Until the treaty was ratified or rejected, the Executive Department of this government could only preserve the peace and protect life and property. That treaty now commits the free and enfranchised Filipinos to the guiding hand and the liberalizing influences, the generous sympathies, the uplifting education, not of their American masters, but of their American emancipators. [Great applause.] No one can tell to-day what is best for them or for us. I know no one at this hour who is wise enough or sufficiently informed to determine what form of government will best subserve their interests and our interests, their and our well-being.

If we knew everything by intuition—and I sometimes think that there are those who believe that if we do not they do [laughter and applause]—we should not need information; but, unfortunately, most of us are not in that happy state. This whole subject is now with Congress; and Congress is the voice, the conscience, and the judgment of the American people. Upon their judgment and conscience can we not rely? I believe in them. I trust them. I know of no better or safer human tribunal than the people. [Great applause.]

Until Congress shall direct otherwise, it will be the duty of the Executive to possess and hold the Philippines, giving to the people thereof peace and order and beneficent government; affording them every opportunity to prosecute their lawful pursuits; encouraging them in thrift and industry; making them feel and know that we are their friends, not their enemies, that their good is our aim, that their welfare is our welfare, but that neither their aspirations nor ours can be realized until our authority is acknowledged and unquestioned. [Loud and enthusiastic applause.]

That the inhabitants of the Philippines will be benefited by this republic is my unshaken belief. That they will have a kindlier government under our guidance, and that they will be aided in every possible way to be a self-respecting and self-governing people, is as true as that the American people love liberty and have an abiding faith in their own government and in their own institutions. [Great applause.] No imperial designs lurk in the American mind. They are alien to American sentiment, thought, and purpose. Our priceless principles undergo no change under a tropical sun. They go with the flag. [Long-continued applause.]

> Why read ye not the changeless truth, The free can conquer but to save? [Great applause.]

If we can benefit these remote peoples, who will object? If, in the years of the future, they are established in government under law and liberty, who will regret our perils and sacrifices? Who will not rejoice in our heroism and humanity? Always perils, and always after them safety; always darkness and clouds, but always shining through them the light and the sunshine; always cost and sacrifice, but always after them the fruition of liberty, education, and civilization. [Enthusiastic applause.]

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I have no light or knowledge not common to my countrymen. I do not prophesy. The present is allabsorbing to me. But I cannot bound my vision by the blood-stained trenches around Manila,-where every red drop, whether from the veins of an American soldier or a misguided Filipino, is anguish to my heart,—but by the broad range of future years, when that group of islands, under the impulse of the year just past, shall have become the gems and glories of those tropical seasa land of plenty and of increasing possibilities; a people redeemed from savage indolence and habits, devoted to the arts of peace, in touch with the commerce and trade of all nations, enjoying the blessings of freedom, of civil and religious liberty, of education, and of homes, and whose children and children's children shall for ages hence bless the American republic because it emancipated and redeemed their fatherland, and set them in the pathway of the world's best civilization. [Prolonged applause.]

CVIII.

Speech at G. A. R. Encampment, Boston, February 17, 1899.

Mr. Commander, Comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic:

I count myself most fortunate to find, upon my visit to the city of Boston, my comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic in session in the same city, thus giving me an opportunity once again to look into your friendly faces and exchange the friendly greetings of comradeship with you. [Applause.]

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You fought in a holy cause, which, under the providence of God, triumphed. You fought in a cause which made this the freest and best and greatest government beneath the sun. As I heard your cheers this morning, I felt that you still had the old spirit of '61. [Prolonged applause and cheers.]

You were not only good soldiers, my comrades, maintaining in the battle's front the honor and integrity of the flag we loved so much, but since the war, as citizens, you have ever been loyal and faithful, preserving in peace the government which you secured in war.

The sad feature about all these reunions is that our numbers are diminishing. Every annual roll-call discloses one or another of our comrades not present, but accounted for. They have gone to join their comrades on the other side, now in the majority. It has occurred to me, as it has to every old soldier of the war, that the conspicuous commanders, those who gave orders we loved to obey, have all gone from among us—Grant and Sherman and Sheridan and Logan and Hancock, and a long line besides, whose names are treasured in the memories of the soldiers of the republic. [Great applause.]

I am glad to meet you here this morning. I am glad to have had the opportunity of living, as you have had the opportunity of living, in this last year, when the American people have again manifested their patriotism, their love of country, their devotion to American honor. [Cheers.]

May I suggest to you here this morning that you will have to increase the Grand Army of the Republic? I do not know how you will do it, but I want to see all the brave men of the Spanish War, North and South, in some great patriotic organization, and I know none better than the Grand Army of the Republic. [Shouts of "Good!" and applause.]

CIX.

Speech to the General Court, Boston, February 17, 1899.

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the General Court:

Although limited for time, I could not deny myself the honor of accepting the invitation, officially extended by joint resolution of your honorable body, which I had the pleasure of receiving from the hands of your distinguished senior senator, Hon. George F. Hoar. I am not indifferent to your generous action, and it cannot be more sincere than the feeling of pleasure which I have in meeting the senators and representatives of the great commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In this ancient capitol great public questions have had free discussion. Here great statesmen, whose names live in their country's history, have received their training and voiced the enlightened opinions of their countrymen. Here, through the century, you have chosen your fellow-citizens to represent you in the councils of the nation through that great parliamentary body, the Senate of the United States. You have chosen well, and leaders you have never lacked. [Applause.]

What illustrious men have thus borne the commission of the legislative body of the commonwealth of Massachusetts!—Adams and Pickering and Webster, Choate and Everett and Winthrop, Sumner, Wilson, and a long list besides, illustrious in the annals of your State and of the nation; and those later statesmen, Hoar and Lodge, honored everywhere for their distinguished services to our common country. [Great applause.]

It was in the Massachusetts House of Representatives that John A. Andrew made the speech for human liberty which touched the hearts of his fellow-citizens and made him your great war governor. [Applause.] And at one time the Speaker's chair of this legislative body was occupied by your former governor and representative in Congress, the able Secretary of the Navy, Hon. John D. Long, whose great department has added luster to the American navy and glory to the American name. [Great applause.]

I am glad to be on this historic ground. It revives memories sacred in American life. It recalls the struggles of the founders of Massachusetts for liberty and independence. Their unselfish sacrifices, their dauntless courage, are the inspiration of all lovers of freedom everywhere. Their lives and character reach into every American home, and have stimulated the best aspirations of American manhood.

In the beginning of our national existence, and even before, this was the home and fountain of liberty. It is the home of liberty now; and I am sure that what these great men of the past secured for us they would have us not only transmit to our descendants, but carry to oppressed peoples whose interest and welfare by the fortunes of war are committed to us. [Great applause.]

We may regard the situation before us as a burden or as an opportunity; but whether the one or the other, it is here, and conscience and civilization require us to meet it bravely. Desertion of duty is not an American habit. It was not the custom of the fathers and will not be the practice of their sons. [Prolonged applause.]

CX.

Speech at the Commercial Club Reception, Boston, February 17, 1899.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Commercial Club:

My thanks are due first to the president of your association for his generous words of welcome and his expression of approval of that which has been accomplished in the past two years. I thank this club as a body for this expression of its good will.

This country as a nation has much to congratulate itself upon. Your president has alluded to one or two things. We were never in all our history on such good terms with each other, North and South, East and West, as we are at this hour. [Applause.]

The union of hearts and the union of hands were never stronger than in this year 1899. [Renewed applause.]

More than all, we are to-day on more cordial relations with all the world than we have been for many years. The treaty of peace has been ratified and we are no longer at war. Whatever the difference of opinion in Massachusetts, to which reference has been made, I have discovered that when there is a crisis, national or otherwise, Massachusetts stands for national credit and national honor. [Prolonged applause.] I am pleased to meet the men about this board—men of letters, men of the law, as well as the men of business.

I have been glad to meet the representative of Har-

vard College here. I like old Harvard. [Applause.] I like the Harvard men. I still have cause to be grateful to them. They gave to the nation an Otis at Manila [applause], and Lawton, who led our forces at El Caney [renewed applause], and Roosevelt [cheers], and last, but not least, Leonard Wood. [Prolonged applause.] Nor can I ever forget that Harvard furnished to me and to the country the Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long. [Cheers and tumultuous applause.]

I learned my lessons in liberty from the people of Massachusetts. [Enthusiastic applause.]

But, fellow-citizens, as I started out to say to you, I am glad to meet the members of the Commercial Club and the business men of Boston here assembled. I rejoice with them upon the better conditions of trade now prevailing throughout the country. The last twelve months have marked great changes and brought business improvement to industrial America. The man of affairs feels better because his affairs are in a better state. He is more comfortable than he has been for many years. He has taken on new courage and confidence. He is satisfied with the revenue and financial policies of his country. He can now make accurate calculation on the future.

The past year has recorded a volume of business, domestic and foreign, unparalleled in any former operations of the United States. Our enormous export trade has made American balances satisfactory, and almost for the first time the money of the country has been so abundant, and the wealth of the country so great, that our capitalists have sought foreign investments. We are fast going from a debtor to a creditor nation. I hope nothing will check it. We have quit discussing the tariff, and have turned our attention to getting trade wherever it can be found. It will be a long time before any change can be had or any change will be desired in our present fiscal policy, except to strengthen it. The differences on this question which existed have disappeared, for the time at least. We have turned from academic theories to trade conditions, and are seeking our share of the world's markets.

Not only is our business good, but our money is good. There is no longer any fear of debased currency; it has been happily dispelled. The highest and best standard recognized by the leading commercial nations has been maintained, and it has been done so far without a resort to loans. The cause of sound money has advanced in the last two years. Honest finance has made positive gains. I do not think we quite appreciate yet the full measure of its success.

Both branches of Congress on the 4th of March next will have an unquestioned majority opposed to any demoralization of our currency, and committed to uphold the world's standard. Certainly for two years every branch of the national government will be united for good eurrency and the inviolability of our national obligations and credit. The investments and enterprises of the people can therefore not be unsettled by sudden changes.

We have been engaged in war. Two hundred and seventy thousand of our citizens have been in the field; our sailors have been afloat in two hemispheres; and yet the business of the country has been steadily growing, our resources multiplying, the energy of our people has been quickened, and, at the end of our glorious land and naval triumphs, we find the country in a condition of almost unparalleled activity and prosperity. Our domestic situation is fortunate indeed, considering the new questions which we must meet and solve. That they will be settled on the lines of right and duty I cannot doubt, and that the business men of Boston and of the whole country will be an active and helpful force in their rightful solution I confidently believe. [Great applause.]

CXI.

REMARKS AT THE DINNER AT THE UNION LEAGUE, PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 27, 1899.

Mr. Converse, Gentlemen of the Union League :

I rise simply that I may thank the Union League for its welcome and the many manifestations of good will which it has shown to me. I am specially glad to be here to-day to join with the people of Philadelphia in honoring the great warrior who saved the American Union. [Applause.] If we will always be loyal to his memory we shall always be faithful to the Union. [Applause.]

The Baldwin Locomotive Works does not always follow the flag, but often precedes it [laughter], and I am told that its products are everywhere. [Laughter.] Indeed, the city of Philadelphia is getting everywhere. [Laughter.] It is doing as the army and navy have been doing in the last twelve months. [Applause.] I am told you are about to span the Nile with a bridge built in the city of Philadelphia. [Applause.]

I thank you for your warm greeting, and I propose the toast "Our Splendid Army and Navy." [Loud applause.]

CXII.

Speech at the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, April 27, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I cannot add a single word to the just and beautiful tribute paid to the great warrior by your fellow-citizen in this presence to-night.

Half a dozen years ago I was in Galena, delivering an address at the unveiling of a statue to General Grant, and this story was told to me: That General Grant, then a captain and out of the service, presided over their first Union meeting in 1861-the first meeting after the call for volunteers. The meeting was a large one, held in the old court-house, and inquiries were made all over the room who it was that was thus called to preside over that important patriotic assembly. Some one said, "It is Captain Grant." "Well, who is Captain Grant? We never heard of him." In four years from that time he presided over the greatest Union meeting ever held beneath the flag, at Appomattox Court-House, and his name was upon every lip [applause], and his face was familiar to every American home. Subsequently he was greeted by all races, and filled the whole world with his fame as he journeyed in the pathway of the sun. [Applause.] He was a great soldier. Lincoln issued the proclamation of emancipation; but it took the guns of Grant to give life to that decree. He will be remembered for all time and his name forever cherished as the soldier who preserved the Union of the States. He had a sacred attachment for the old soldiers. The last time that the public ever looked upon his face in life was on the occasion of the parade of the Grand Army of the Republic in the city of New York only a little while before General Grant's death; and against the protests of his friends and of his physicians he was carried to the window of his house for a last look upon his comrades. [Applause.] It was a scene never to be forgotten, and attested his undying love for those who had followed him from Shiloh to Vicksburg and Appomattox.

He not only achieved great victories in war and great administrative triumphs in peace, but he was permitted to do what is given to few men to do-to live long enough to write with his own pen the history he had made in command of the armies of the United States. [Applause.] And what a splendid history it is ! It should be read by all the boys and girls of the land, for it tells, in his just and simple and honest but most forceful way, the trials and triumphs and hopes of the army over which he was supreme commander. And when he had finished that work he laid down his pen, and, like a good soldier, said to his Master, "Thy will be done." He is gone who was so great. He brought the flag of our country back without a single star erased; and it is a glorious fact to know that the Union which he saved by his sword, and the peace for which he prayed in his last moments, are secured. [Loud applause.] It is gratifying to us to know, as lovers of the great warrior, that the men against whom he fought in that great civil struggle, and their descendants, carried, with the men of the North and their descendants, the glorious banner of the free at Santiago, El Caney, and Manila [cheers and applause]; and that we have a Union to-day stronger and grander than ever before, for it is a Union of hearts, North and South, a Union indissoluble, and a Union never to be broken. [Applause.] The flag which Grant and his mighty army made glorious has lost none of its luster as it has been carried by the army and navy of the United States on sea and land in two hemispheres. [Great cheering.] So long as we perpetuate in our hearts the memory of Grant, so long will this nation be secure and enduring. [Great applause.]

CXIII.

REMARKS ON BOARD THE U. S. S. "RALEIGH," PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 28, 1899.

Captain Coghlan, Men of the "Raleigh":

It gives me great pleasure to bid you welcome home and to congratulate you, and each one of you, upon the heroic part you bore in the great battle on the 1st of May at Manila, which was a most glorious triumph to American' arms, and made a new and glorious page in American history. I assure you that when I give you welcome I am only speaking the heart's welcome of seventy-five millions of American citizens, who honor you all for your splendid services to our country. This feeling not only extends to your great admiral, whom we all love and honor, but to the humblest member of the crew who was in that great fleet at Manila Bay.

I give you all warm and generous welcome and my thanks.

CXIV.

SPEECH AT HARRISONBURG, VIRGINIA, MAY 20, 1899.

Fellow-Citizens :

The very warm and generous welcome which has been extended on your behalf by Colonel Roller is altogether an unexpected pleasure, and all the more appreciated, for in passing so rapidly through your valley I had no thought that I would be thus greeted by the people of Rockingham County. I am glad, my fellow-citizens, to look upon your beautiful valley once more—one of the richest and most attractive in our great country. It is a rich heritage you possess and enjoy.

I heartily join with your speaker in congratulations upon a reunited country. [Applause.] We are now happily one in purpose and one in patriotism. [Prolonged applause.]

I congratulate you upon the evidences of prosperity that I see at every hand. It is a common prosperity, participated in by both the North and the South. [Applause.]

It now rests upon us and those who follow us to see to it that this Union of States established by the fathers, representing liberty and justice, representing the highest opportunities and blessings, "shall not perish from the earth." [Cheers.]

CXV.

Speech on the Occasion of the Conferring of the Degree of Doctor of Civil Law at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, June 20, 1899.

Mrs. Mead, Ladies and Gentlemen :

In this presence I cannot refrain from making acknowledgment of the very distinguished honor which the Board of Trustees and the officers of this institution have been pleased to confer upon me. I want to assure the young ladies of the graduating class that I am both delighted and honored to be a member of the class of '99. [Applause.]

Massachusetts has been and is favored in many things, but in nothing more than in her educational institutions. I count myself most fortunate to have been privileged vesterday to look upon the faces of the graduates of Smith College, that splendid institution for the education of women. And I count myself most fortunate to-day to look upon the faces of the graduates of this historic institution that has done so much for the exaltation of womanhood, and whose influence is felt, not alone in Massachusetts, but in every part of our common country-Mount Holyoke, more than sixty years old to-day! And its influence in molding and shaping the citizenship of the nation can never be told. I am glad that we are demonstrating in the United States to-day that the boy should have no more advantage than the girl [applause]; and Mount

Holyoke and Smith, and a half-dozen other institutions of the land, are demonstrating that fact. Educated womanhood is an open school for citizenship every day of the year, and the home is the training-school for the author and the soldier and the statesman.

I wish for this graduating class every good thing, and I want you to be assured that all good things wait upon a pure and noble womanhood. [Applause.]

CXVI.

Speech at Springfield, Massachusetts, June 21, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I desire to express the very great pleasure I have had in the generous welcome extended to me by the people of the city of Springfield.

This would be a good time for Springfield to take a census. [Applause and laughter.] I am prepared for any ascertained population your enumerators may find this year. [Applause.] I have been glad during the day to witness the devotion of your people, old and young, to the flag that all of us love [applause and cheers]; to meet the veterans of '61 and '65, who carried that flag to honor and glory [applause and cheers]; and to meet the members of the gallant Second Massachusetts, who carried that flag and brought it back with added glory from the fields of Santiago. [Applause.] I was glad to see the colors of the old banner in the hands of the ten thousand school-children of the city of Springfield. [Applause and cheers.] It

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represents to-day more than it ever did before. It does not stand for despotism—it stands for peace and progress and liberty and law and kindly government wherever its sacred folds float. [Cheers.]

I thank you for this reception, and, being unable to shake hands with all of you, I reluctantly bid you goodby. [Prolonged cheering.]

CXVII.

Speech at the Reception of the Grand Army Post, Adams, Massachusetts, June 24, 1899.

Comrades of the Grand Army :

While we are all getting older and grayer, I discover that your voices are quite as strong as they were in '61 and '65. [Cheers.] You cheer now very much as you cheered then. I cannot forbear congratulating you upon this beautiful room in which you hold your post meetings. I think there are very few post-rooms in the country more accessible or more comfortable than the one which you are privileged to occupy. I am glad to recall the fact that two years ago I assisted my comrades here in laying the corner-stone of this Memorial Library building. I congratulate you upon the completion of the structure. [Loud cheering and applause.]

CXVIII.

Speech at Adams, Massachusetts, June 26, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I am always glad to come to Adams, and always regret going away. While I leave you regretfully, I go with the hope of an early visit among you again. [Cheers.]

It has been a great pleasure to me to note the progress you have made since I first visited you seven years ago. I was here then to participate in the opening of one of your great mills. I rejoice to know that another one of like size was added a few years later, and it gave me uncommon gratification this morning to take part in the laying of the corner-stone of still another, which is to be larger than any that have preceded it. [Applause and cheers.] This means work and wages; and work and wages mean happy homes and happy firesides; and happy homes and happy firesides make a good community, good citizens, and a great country. [Prolonged cheering.]

OF WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

CXIX.

Speech at the Catholic Summer School, Cliff Haven, New York, August 15, 1899.

Father Lavelle, Members of the Catholic Summer School, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I had not intended to say a word, but I cannot sit in silence in the presence of this demonstration of your good will and patriotism. I cannot forbear to give expression of my very high appreciation of the welcome you have given me here to-day, and the kindly words of commendation uttered by your president.

Whatever the government of the United States has been able to accomplish since I last met you in this audience-chamber has been accomplished because the hearts of the people have been with it. [Applause.] Our patriotism is neither sectional nor sectarian. [Applause.] We may differ in our political and religious beliefs, but we are united for country. [Applause.] Loyalty to the government is our national creed. We follow, all of us, one flag. [Applause.] It symbolizes our purposes and our aspirations; it represents what we believe and what we mean to maintain; and wherever it floats, it is the flag of the free [prolonged applause], the hope of the oppressed; and wherever it is assailed, at any sacrifice, it will be carried to a triumphant peace. [Tremendous applause, long continued.] We have more flags here than we ever had before. [Applause.] They are in evidence everywhere. I saw them carried by the little ones on your lawn. 14

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[Applause.] That flag floats from the homes of the millions; even from our places of worship, from our school-houses, from the shops and the factories, from the mining towns; and it waves from the camp of the pioneer on the distant outpost, and on the lumberman's hut in the dense forest. It is found in the home of the humblest toiler, and what it represents is dear to his heart. Rebellion may delay, but it can never defeat its blessed mission of liberty and humanity. [Long-continued applause and cheers.]

CXX.

SPEECH AT OCEAN GROVE, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1899.

Bishop Fitzgerald, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Words seem very poor to express my appreciation of your kindly welcome. I have come to pay my respects to the Ocean Grove Association, and to thank it for the magnificent work it has done in the past, and for the still greater work which it will accomplish in the future. Piety and patriotism go well together. [Applause.] Love of flag, love of country, are not inconsistent with our religious faith; and I think we have more love for our country and more people love our flag than ever before. [Great applause.] And what that flag has done for us we want it to do for all peoples and all lands which, by the fortunes of war, may come within its jurisdiction. [Prolonged applause.] That flag does not mean one thing in the United States and another thing in Porto Rico and the Philippines. [Applause.] There has been doubt expressed in some quarters as to the purpose of the government respecting the Philippines. I can see no harm in stating it in this presence. [Applause.] Peace first [loud applause]; then, with charity for all, the establishment of a government of law and order [applause], protecting life and property and occupation for the well-being of the people, in which they will participate under the Stars and Stripes. [Prolonged applause.]

I have said more than I intended to, and I only want to express, in conclusion, the pleasure it has given me to look into the faces of this great assembly of Methodists [applause], and to receive your cordial greetings. [Great applause.]

CXXI.

Address before the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, United States Volunteers, Schenley Park, Pitts-Burg, August 28, 1899.

Governor Stone and my Fellow-Citizens :

I am glad to participate with the families, friends, and fellow-citizens of the Tenth Pennsylvania Volunteers in this glad reunion.

You have earned the plaudits, not alone of the people of Pennsylvania, but of the whole nation. Your return has been the signal for a great demonstration of popular regard from your landing at the Golden Gate on the Pacific to your home-coming; and here you find a warmth of welcome and a greeting from joyous hearts which tell better than words the estimate of your countrymen, and their high appreciation of the services you have rendered the country. You made secure and permanent the victory of Dewey. [Great applause.] You added new glory to American arms. You and your brave comrades engaged on other fields of conflict have enlarged the map of the United States and extended the jurisdiction of American liberty. [Continued great applause.]

But while we share in the joy that is yours, there remain with us softened and hallowed memories of those who went forth with you, not found in your ranks to-day. Your noble colonel, devoted to his men, beloved by his command, and respected by his superior officers, gave his life to his country, with many others of his comrades. The nation sorrows with the bereaved. These heroes died for their country, and there is no nobler death.

Our troops represented the courage and conscience, the purpose and patriotism, of their country. Whether in Cuba, Porto Rico, or the Philippines, or at home awaiting orders, they did their full duty, and all sought the post of greatest peril. They never faltered. The Eighth Army-Corps in the Philippines has made a proud and exceptional record. Privileged to be mustered out in April, when the ratifications of the treaty of peace were exchanged, they did not claim the privilegethey declined it. They voluntarily remained in the service, and declared their purpose to stay until their places could be filled by new levies, and longer if the government needed them. Their service-and they understood it-was not to be in camp or garrison, free from danger, but on the battle-line, where exposure and death confronted them, and where both have exacted their victims.

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They did not stack arms. They did not run away. They were not serving the insurgents in the Philippines or their sympathizers at home. [Prolonged applause.] They had no part or patience with the men, few in number, happily, who would have rejoiced to see them lay down their arms in the presence of an enemy whom they had just emancipated from Spanish rule, and who should have been our firmest friend.

They furnished an example of devotion and sacrifice which will brighten the glorious record of American valor. They have secured not alone the gratitude of the government and the people, but for themselves and their descendants an imperishable distinction. They may not fully appreciate, and the country may not, the heroism of their conduct and its important support to the government. I think I do, and so I am here to express it. [Applause.]

The mighty army of volunteers and regulars, numbering over two hundred and fifty thousand, which last year responded to the call of the government with an alacrity without precedent or parallel, by the terms of their enlistment were to be mustered out, with all of the regulars above twenty-seven thousand, when peace with Spain was effected. Peace brought us the Philippines, by treaty cession from Spain. The Senate of the United States ratified the treaty. Every step taken was in obedience to the requirements of the Constitution. There was no flaw in the title, and no doubtful methods were employed to obtain it. [Great applause.] It became our territory, and is ours as much as the Louisiana Purchase, or Texas, or Alaska. A body of insurgents, in no sense representing the sentiment of the people of the islands, disputed our lawful authority, and even before the ratification of the treaty by the American Senate were attacking the very forces who fought for and secured their freedom

This was the situation in April, 1899, the date of the exchange of ratifications—only twenty-seven thousand regulars subject to the unquestioned direction of the Executive, and they for the most part on duty in Cuba and Porto Rico, or invalided at home after their severe campaign in the tropics. Even had they been available, it would have required months to transport them to the Philippines. Practically a new army had to be created. These loyal volunteers in the Philippines said: "We will stay until the government can organize an army at home and transport it to the seat of hostilities."

They did stay, cheerfully, uncomplainingly, patriotically. They suffered and sacrificed, they fought and fell, they drove back and punished the rebels who resisted federal authority, and who with force attacked the sovereignty of the United States in its newly acquired territory. Without them then and there we would have been practically helpless on land, our flag would have had its first stain, and the American name its first ignominy. The brilliant victories of the army and navy in the bay and city of Manila would have been won in vain, our obligations to civilization would have remained temporarily unperformed, chaos would have reigned, and whatever government there was would have been by the will of one man, and not with the consent of the governed. Who refused to sound the retreat? Who stood in the breach when others weakened? Who resisted the suggestion of the unpatriotic that they should come home?

Let me call the roll of honor-let me name the regi-

ments and battalions that deserve to be perpetuated in the nation's annals. Their action was not a sudden impulse born of excitement, but a deliberate determination to sustain, at the cost of life, if need be, the honor of their government and the authority of its flag.

First California, California Artillery, First Colorado, First Idaho, Fifty-first Iowa, Twentieth Kansas, Thirteenth Minnesota, First Montana, First Nebraska, First North Dakota, Nevada Cavalry, Second Oregon, Tenth Pennsylvania, First South Dakota, First Tennessee, Utah Artillery, First Washington, First Wyoming, Wyoming Battery, First, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Companies Volunteer Signal Corps. [Enthusiastic applause.]

To these must be added about four thousand enlisted men of the regular army, who were entitled to their discharge under the peace proclamation of April 11, 1899, the greater portion of whom participated in the engagements of the Eighth Corps, and are still performing arduous services in the field. [Continued applause.]

Nor must the navy be forgotten. Sixty-five devoted sailors participated in the engagement of May 1 in Manila Bay whose terms of service had previously expired, continuing on duty quite a year after that action. [Continued applause.]

For these men of the army and navy we have only honor and gratitude.

The world will never know the restraint of our soldiers—their self-control under the most exasperating conditions. For weeks subjected to the insults and duplicity of the insurgent leaders, they preserved the status quo, remembering that they were under an order from their government sacredly to observe the terms of the protocol in letter and spirit, and avoid all conflict, except in defense, pending the negotiations of the treaty of peace. They were not the aggressors. They did not begin hostilities against the insurgents pending the ratification of the treaty of peace in the Senate, great as was their justification, because their orders from Washington forbade it. I take all the responsibility for that direction. Otis only executed the orders of his government, and the soldiers, under great provocation to strike back, obeyed. [Great applause.]

Until the treaty was ratified we had no authority beyond Manila city, bay, and harbor. We then had no other title to defend, no authority beyond that to maintain. Spain was still in possession of the remainder of the archipelago. Spain had sued for peace. The truce and treaty were not concluded. The first blow was struck by the insurgents, and it was a foul blow. Our kindness was reciprocated with cruelty, our mercy with a Mauser. The flag of truce was invoked only to be dishonored. Our soldiers were shot down while ministering to the wounded Filipinos, our dead were mutilated; our humanity was interpreted as weakness, our forbearance as cowardice.

They assailed our sovereignty; and there will be no useless parley, no pause, until the insurrection is suppressed, and American authority acknowledged and established. [Enthusiastic and long-continued applause.] The misguided followers in rebellion have only our charity and pity. As to the cruel leaders who have needlessly sacrificed the lives of thousands of their people, at the cost of some of our best blood, for the gratification of their own ambitious designs, I will leave to others the ungracious task of justification and eulogy.

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Every one of the noble men, of the regulars or volunteers, soldiers or seamen, who thus signally served their country in its extremity, deserves the special recognition of Congress, and it will be to me an unfeigned pleasure to recommend for each of them a special medal of honor. [Great applause.]

Men of the Tenth Pennsylvania, while we give you hail and greeting from overflowing hearts, we do not forget, nor will you, the brave men who remain and those who have gone forward to take your places, and those other brave men who have so promptly volunteered, crowding each other to get to the front, to carry forward to successful completion the work you so nobly began and so faithfully prosecuted. Our prayers go with them, and more men and munitions, if required [great applause], for the speedy suppression of the rebellion, the establishment of peace and tranquillity, and a government under the undisputed sovereignty of the United States [continued applause] -a government which will do justice to all, and at once encourage the best efforts and aspirations of these distant people and the highest development of their rich and fertile lands.

The government to which you gave your love and loyalty welcomes you to your homes. With no blot or stain upon your record, the story of your unselfish service to country and to civilization will be, to the men who take your places at the front and on the firingline, and to future generations, an example of patriotism and an inspiration to duty. [Great and prolonged applause.]

CXXII.

SPEECH AT EAST LIVERPOOL, OHIO, AUGUST 28, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I am delighted with the greeting extended by the citizens of East Liverpool this evening, and assure you that it is a great pleasure to be here again among so many of my good friends.

East Liverpool has made great strides in recent years. I think Colonel Taylor is a little conservative, but he puts the population now at twenty thousand. I congratulate you upon your marvelous growth and your unquestioned prosperity. I remember a few years ago to have told you that you were growing so much that you were pushing back the hills about you. You are now covering these same hills with your residences, and you are expanding so greatly that Ohio is no longer big enough for you, and you are going over to West Virginia. [Applause.] A fine bridge now spans the river, and I am told you are building happy homes on the other side.

I congratulate you, my fellow-eitizens, upon the condition of the country. I congratulate you not only upon its prosperity, but also upon its patriotism. We never had so much patriotism in the United States as we have to-day. We never had so many people loving our country and its flag as we have to-day, and that flag is dearer to us than it ever was before. [Great applause.] I do not forget, when, during the last year, we went to war with Spain, the generous response of the country, two hundred thousand of our best young men volunteering their services to fight, and die if need be, for the honor of our flag [applause] and its integrity everywhere. Nor can I forget that this city of East Liverpool contributed one of the companies to the gallant Eighth Ohio, that did service in front of Santiago. [Applause.]

Having said this, and grateful to you for this reception,—for I assure you that coming to East Liverpool awakens tender and sweet and pleasant memories, and looking into your faces touches my very heartstrings,—having said this much, and wishing for you at all times all good things, I bid you good night. [Long-continued applause.]

CXXIII.

SPEECH AT EAST LIVERPOOL, OHIO, AUGUST 29, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

In this presence I feel quite incapable of making a fitting response to the gracious expressions extended on your behalf by your representative in Congress [Representative Tayler]. If anything would make me forget my fatigue, it would be this friendly greeting, which I know is straight from the heart. I cannot stand here even for a moment to give utterance to words of appreciation of this kindly reception, without recalling that from this very place, year in and year out, I was in the habit of meeting this people, and they were kind enough always to give me generous welcome. [Applause.] This city, through all the years of the past, has been faithful and firm in its friendship for me. Although I have been absent from you for now more than four years, that friendship has never been diminished, and my interest in you, in your city, in your prosperity, in your home life, in the young men and the young women, in the boys and the girls, has never abated. [Applause.] I come back here finding your city growing, constant improvements being made, until I have come to believe that the people of East Liverpool are in favor of expansion. [Laughter and great applause.]

But I came here for rest, and not to speak, and I know you will excuse me from any further words, and permit me to bid you all good night. [Prolonged applause.]

CXXIV.

REMARKS AT CANTON, OHIO, AUGUST 30, 1899.

Judge Baldwin and my Fellow-Citizens:

I appear only for a moment that I may give expression to my appreciation of the welcome which you have extended to me to-day. After all, there is no place like home. And this is my home. Here thirty-two or thirtythree years ago I commenced my professional life. Here have been formed some of the most tender and sacred associations. Some of them, indeed, have been severed, but this is the seat and the center of my memory.

Heretofore, for nearly a third of a century, you have given me kindly greeting, words of encouragement, and showered upon me honor after honor, all undeserved, and I appear before you now only to express what is in my heart: that I am glad to see you; glad to meet you, to look into your faces once again, and feel the inspiration of your approval. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

CXXV.

Speech at Canton, Ohio, August 30, 1899.

Captain Fisher, Officers and Members of the Eighth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and my Fellow-Citizens :

It gives me great pleasure to meet you once more in this dear old town. I have appreciated during the day the warmth of welcome and the heartiness of greeting which have been accorded to me by my old neighbors and friends.

I do not forget, as I stand in this presence, surrounded by these brave boys, that this old county of Stark was prompt in responding to the call of the government for soldiers in this war with Spain. I do not forget the alacrity with which they volunteered, and I have always been proud of the fact, for I noted it with great satisfaction, that this county furnished quite as many soldiers, according to its population, as any other county in the United States. [Applause.]

You have won and earned the nation's gratitude and praise. You did your full duty in front of Santiago; and no higher honor can be paid to the soldier of any country than to say of him that he did his whole duty. [Applause.]

You were more fortunate than many of your comrades. You got to the seat of hostilities. But every one of the two hundred thousand splendid young men who volunteered for that war was anxious to get to the front and at the place of greatest danger. I am glad to meet my fellow-eitizens here to-night. I am thankful to them for the good will which is manifested by their presence; and I shall go away from my eity and my home strengthened for the great duties and responsibilities of the Executive office, and sustained and encouraged by the kindly expressions of my warmhearted friends here. [Great applause.]

CXXVI.

Speech at G. A. R. Encampment, Philadelphia, September 5, 1899.

Comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic:

It has given me great pleasure to be associated with you to-day. I have been deeply touched by many of the scenes which all of us witnessed. With the joyous thought at the glad reunion of old comrades who had fought side by side in a common cause and for a common country, there was that other saddened thought that so many of our comrades, who, two years ago only, had so proudly marched with you through the city of Buffalo, were no longer in your ranks. The circle is narrowing as the years roll on. One after another at our annual reunions is not present, but accounted for. He has gone to join the great majority of our comrades.

But with it all, my comrades, as I witnessed to-day the vast procession of old veterans, and heard the plaudits of the people, I could not but ask the question: "What has endeared this vast army to the American people? what has enshrined you in their hearts? what has given you permanent and imperishable place in their history?" And the answer comes that you saved the nation. [Applause.] It was because you did something; aye, you sacrificed something. You were willing to give up your lives for civilization and liberty—not for the civilization and liberty of the hour, but for a civilization and liberty for all ages. [Applause.]

That has given you a place in the hearts of the American people, and I was, therefore, not surprised to hear from our comrade, who made the response to the welcome of the State and the city, that, from the time they journeyed from their homes in the far West until they reached this city, the comrades were everywhere cheered by the American people.

Great deeds never die [applause], and the Grand Army of the Republic is to be congratulated to-night that the Union which it saved, by the peace which it secured at Appomattox Court-house, is the Union formed more than a century ago; and that that Union is stronger, better, and dearer to the American people than ever. [Tremendous applause.]

We are once more and forever one people [applause], one in faith, one in purpose, one in willingness to sacrifice for the honor of the country and the glory of our flag. [Applause.]

The Blue and the Gray march under one flag. [Applause.] We have but one flag now, "the same our grandsires lifted up, the same our fathers bore"—that flag which you kept stainless and made triumphant. [Immense applause.]

I may be pardoned for saying in this presence that this has been one of the happiest days of my life. [Applause.] I sat looking into the faces of my old comrades. They are getting a little too old for war, I think. [Laughter and cries of "No!"] They are all right, though [applause]; and I may say that during last summer and this year we were able to gather, through the example of your patriotism and the inspiration of your example, two hundred and fifty thousand of the best young men of the United States. [Great applause.]

CXXVII.

SPEECH AT BANQUET OF MEADE, LAFAYETTE, AND KINSLEY POSTS, G. A. R., PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER 5, 1899.

My Friends :

I did not expect to make a speech to-night, and I only rise that I may express my gratification at being one of the guests of three great Grand Army posts of the United States—Meade, Lafayette, and Kinsley. It has given me genuine pleasure to greet so many of my old comrades in this city of historic memories and patriotic endeavors; but I assure you that all of the goodness and greatness of Philadelphia are not in the past.

As I passed through the Avenue of Fame to-day I could not but reflect what a volume of history it portrays. Histories of the war, the achievements of the army as well as of the navy, were all made manifest by the names of those who had been leaders in that great struggle in both branches of the service. Our great commander was there, Ulysses S. Grant [applause], and Sherman and Sheridan and Meade [applause] and Farragut. [Applause.] And not only, in that

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gallery of heroes, did I find great captains and soldiers of the army, but you went further and remembered the men behind the guns. [Applause.]

We have told the story of the heroism and sacrifices and the matchless achievements of the Grand Army of the Republic, of which we are all proud. I thank you, members of the three posts, for permitting me to stay at your table to-night, but I do not wish to talk. The Secretary of War is here; the Secretary of Agriculture is here; the president of Cornell University, who is president of the Philippine Commission, is here from Manila; and here, also, is Admiral Sampson. [Applause.] And, gentlemen of the three great posts, you have your choice. [Great applause.]

CXXVIII.

REMARKS UPON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF A SWORD TO ADMIRAL DEWEY, AT THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 3, 1899.

Admiral Dewey :

From your entrance into the harbor of New York with your gallant crew and valiant ship, the demonstrations which everywhere have greeted you reveal the public esteem of your heroic action and the fullness of the love in which you are held by your countrymen.

The voice of the nation is lifted in praise and gratitude for the distinguished and memorable services you have rendered the country, and all the people give you affectionate welcome home, in which I join with all my heart. Your victory exalted American valor and ex-¹⁵ tended American authority. There was no flaw in your victory; there will be no faltering in maintaining it. [Tremendous applause.] It gives me extreme pleasure and great honor, in behalf of all the people, to hand you this sword, the gift of the nation, voted by the Congress of the United States. [Prolonged applause.]

CXXIX.

Speech at Quincy, Illinois, October 6, 1899.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen :

For this patriotic welcome I thank you. It has given me uncommon pleasure to meet this morning, at the Soldiers' Home, the men of 1861, the veterans who stood in the trenches and behind the guns in that year of great emergency, when the life of the nation hung in the balance. [Applause.]

It has given me like pleasure, also, to meet with the ex-soldiers of the Spanish War from the eity of Quincy, and the naval militia, representing the patriotism of 1898. [Applause.] And it is gratifying to me to learn that you sent from this eity one of the gallant young officers who fought with Dewey in Manila Bay. [Great applause.]

This is an era of patriotism, my countrymen. The United States has never been lacking in gratitude to its soldiers and sailors who have fought in its cause; and the cause of the United States has never lacked defenders in every crisis of its history. [Cheers.] From the revolutionary days to the present hour, the citizens of the United States have been ever ready to uphold, at any cost, the flag and the honor of the nation, and to take all the responsibility which comes from a righteous war. [Great applause.] There are responsibilities, born of duty, that can never be repudiated. [Applause.] Duty unperformed is dishonor, and dishonor brings shame, which is heavier for a nation to earry than any burden which honor can impose. [Great and prolonged applause.]

CXXX.

REMARKS AT MACOMB, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 6, 1899.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

It is a pleasure to me to look into your faces, to feel the inspiration of your warm hearts, and to know that you are interested in the prosperity and the honor of the government of the United States. These great assemblages of the people teach patriotism, and patriotism is the mighty power that sustains the government in peace and unites us all in war. [Great applause.] The patriot loves his home, his family, his profession, his farm, his books; but he has a greater love which includes all these-he loves his country. [Great applause.] No finer exhibition of patriotism was ever shown than a few days ago in the distant Philippines. [Applause.] That gallant Tennessee regiment that had been absent from home and family and friends for more than a year, and was embarked on the good ship Sherman, homeward bound-when the enemy attacked our forces remaining near Cebu, these magnificent soldiers disembarked from their ship and joined their comrades on the firing-line,

and achieved a glorious triumph for American arms. [Great applause.] That is an example of patriotism that should be an inspiration to duty to all of us in every part of our common country. [Prolonged applause.]

CXXXI.

REMARKS AT BUSHNELL, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 6, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I thank you for this welcome. I thank the children of the schools for coming to give me greeting with the flag of our country in their hands.

The last two years have registered not alone our martial triumphs, but have recorded equal triumphs in peace. We have not only overcome in the war with Spain, but we have overcome the enemies of prosperity and scattered their forces [great applause]; and to-day the United States is enjoying an era of prosperity unprecedented in our history. [Applause.] No man rejoices more in that fact than I do, because it has taken blessings to the homes and the firesides of seventyfive millions of my countrymen. [Great applause.]

CXXXII.

Speech at Canton, Illinois, October 6, 1899.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

The name you bear is very close to me. It suggests to me the dearest name on earth—that of home; and

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the city of Canton, Ohio, salutes her namesake and sister, the city of Canton, Illinois. [Great applause.] I am glad to meet you all. The past two years have been eventful ones in our history. They have been memorable because they have achieved victories for civilization and humanity. [Applause.]

We have had three signal triumphs in that period. First, we have had a war with a foreign power in the interest and for the benefit of humanity. We have triumphed in that war, and our glorious flag, the symbol of liberty, floats to-day over two hemispheres. [Loud and prolonged applause.] During that war we had exhibitions of unprecedented patriotism on the part of the people, and unmatched heroism on the part of the soldiers and the sailors of the republic. [Cheers.]

Our second great triumph is the triumph of prosperity. [Great applause.] The busy mills, the active industries, and the general prosperity have "scattered plenty o'er a smiling land."

And the third great triumph is the triumph we have had over sectionalism. [Great applause.] We are no longer a divided people; and he who would stir up animosities between the North and the South is denied a hearing in both sections. [Great applause.] The boys of the South with the boys of the North fought triumphantly on land and sea in every engagement of the war.

So I conclude, in the moment I am to tarry with you, by saying that this nation has been greatly blessed, and that this hour we are a united, a prosperous, and a patriotic people. [Great applause.] And may that divine Providence who has guided us in all our undertakings from the beginning of the government continue to us his gracious and assuring favor. [Prolonged applause.]

CXXXIII.

Speech at Peoria, Illinois, October 6, 1899.

Mr. President, Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen :

With my fellow-citizens of Peoria County, the members of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the Ladies' Memorial Association, I am glad to stand about this monument, dedicated to patriotic service and heroic devotion in as holy a cause as ever engaged mankind. This monument awakens sacred memories; and that is its purpose. It was erected by these patriotic women that it might for all time perpetuate one of the most glorious pages in American history. It tells the whole story of the war-the siege, the march, the bivouac, the battle-line, the sufferings, the sacrifices of the brave men who from '61 to '65 upheld the flag. [Great applause.] It tells every page of the history of that civil struggle, and of its triumphant consummation at Appomattox Court-House, when Grant accepted the surrender of Lee, and we were kept a nation, united again forever. [Great applause.]

I like this monument. [Applause.] I like this symbol that I face to-day—the defense of the flag. [Cheers.] That is what we do whenever and wherever that flag is assailed. [Enthusiastic, prolonged applause.] And with us war always stops when the assailants of our flag consent to Grant's terms of unconditional surrender. [Great and continued applause.]

My fellow-citizens, I do not intend to make a speech here to-day. [Cries of "Go on !"] I could add nothing of patriotic sentiment to that which has already been uttered. But I desire to express in this presence my appreciation, not of the tribute that was paid to the President of the United States, but the tribute which the people of Peoria city and Peoria County have paid to the brave defenders of the American flag in time of our greatest peril. [Prolonged applause.] You are proud of the monument. You should be proud of the demonstration to-day which preceded its unveiling-six thousand children from the schools marching by with the flag of the stars in their hands. [Applause.] I could not but think, as I looked upon that inspiring procession, that my country was safe. [Loud and prolonged applause.] God bless the schools of America! [Continued applause.] God bless the patriotic women of the United States [continued applause], and the patriotic band that projected and carried this monument to a successful conclusion ! [Continued applause.] And I must not close without congratulating you that you could find in Peoria-indeed, you have everything in Peoria-an artist of such high skill, born in your own city, to conceive and execute this noble monument. [Applause.]

I thank you for this splendid demonstration of patriotism. [Long-continued applause.]

CXXXIV.

REMARKS UPON THE PRESENTATION OF AN ALBUM FROM THE PEOPLE OF PEORIA, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 6, 1899.

My Friends :

I have no fitting words to respond to the gracious compliment of this hour and to the welcome spoken by your representative.

Our flag, wherever it floats, does not change in character. It is the same under a tropical sun as it is in our own United States. It represents, wherever its standard is raised, liberty and advancement for the people; and in your allusions to the work of the Congress and of this administration, I can only say for myself and for those associated with me, we have had no aim but a public aim, no purpose but a good one; and upon our action, in the language of Lincoln and in the words of his proclamation, we "invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

I thank you for this gift, coming from the people of Peoria as an expression of their feeling and good will.

CXXXV.

ADDRESS AT GALESBURG, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 7, 1899.

Mr. Chairman and my Fellow-Citizens :

The time and place make this meeting memorable. Forty-one years ago on this spot two mighty leaders, representing opposing ideas, contended for mastery before the tribunal of the people. It was a contest which history will not fail to record; and some are yet living to tell its interesting and thrilling story. It has been recited around the family fireside until to the people of Illinois it has become a household tale, inspiring love of liberty and devotion to free institutions. Here, therefore, are sacred memories which will be cherished by this community for all time, and are permanently incorporated in the life of the nation.

Lincoln and Douglas are inseparably connected in the public mind. Their association began in conflict and ended in coöperation. They were in antagonism for more than a generation over the interpretation of the Constitution, and were united at last when the Constitution itself was assailed. They might differ, as they did, over the meaning of some of its provisions, but when the crisis came they stood together for its inviolability and for the inseparability of the Union it established. The one asserted the right of slavery under certain conditions to enter the Territories; the other disputed that right under any conditions; but both agreed that the slave power should not divide the Union.

The debate was national and historical. It commanded profound attention. It interested all sections. It was watched with the deepest anxiety by the followers of both. It was read and studied as no other public discussion before or since. It presented the best of the two conflicting schools of thought. It was epochmaking, and marked an epoch in our history. It touched the public conscience. It influenced public thought and purpose. It made the issue impossible of escape; it could be no longer avoided or evaded. It united the friends of liberty as well as those of slavery. It hastened the "irrepressible conflict." It was not the beginning of the agitation, but it carried it into the lives and homes of the republic, and no issue is ever rightly settled until it is settled there. It is no little source of satisfaction that, upon the great question presented in these debates, while Douglas carried the legislature, Lincoln had a majority of the people.

The torch of liberty was not lighted here, but it flamed forth with a broader, brighter, bolder light as it was lifted up by the strong arm of Abraham Lincoln.

Three years—only three years—intervened, and the debate was removed from the arena of peaceful discussion to that of war and carnage. And then Lincoln and Douglas stood no longer divided. Sumter was fired on April 12, 1861. On the 15th of that month Lincoln issued his call for seventy-five thousand troops. The position of Douglas at this critical juncture was that of a patriot. Without halting or hesitation he alined himself upon the side of the national government, and threw the force of his great personality in support of the Executive. Upon the occasion of his memorable visit to Lincoln immediately after the first call for volunteers, he dictated to the representative of the Associated Press a despatch in these words:

April 18, 1861.

Senator Douglas called on the President and had an interesting conversation on the present condition of the country. The substance of it was, on the part of Mr. Douglas, that while he was unalterably opposed to the administration in all its political issues, he was prepared to fully sustain the President in the exercise of all his constitutional functions to preserve the Union, maintain the government, and defend the federal capital. A firm policy and prompt action were necessary. The capital was in danger, and must be defended at all hazards and at any expense of men and money. He spoke of the present and future without any reference to the past.

He no longer considered party. His sole concern was for his country. He had no sympathy with our enemies in the North, who openly or secretly counseled the dissolution of the Union. He was for the flag and for its cause, and the brave men who carried it had his blessing and prayers. His patriotic course was a mighty factor in molding Union sentiment and in uniting the patriotism of the country, and should serve as an example of good eitizenship and an inspiration to duty.

Though Douglas espoused a cause doomed to defeat, yet his name will be cherished by patriots everywhere, because when the test came he was found supporting the government and marshaling his followers to uphold the constituted authorities. It is the cause which lives, and it is the cause which makes the men identified with it immortal in history. Lincoln was the leader of the triumphant cause. Douglas, though opposed to him for a lifetime, supported and strengthened his arm. Both will be remembered longest, not for the debate, but for their part in the mighty events which ensued. They will live because the Union which was saved and the liberty which was established will endure to perpetuate their names.

To Lincoln, who in 1858 was struggling here against the encroachment of slavery,—not for its destruction where it existed, but against its further extension,—was finally given by the people, under the providence of God, the opportunity and the power to enthrone liberty in every part of the republic.

CXXXVI.

Speech at Kewanee, Illinois, October 7, 1899.

Fellow-Citizens :

I thank you for this patriotic demonstration. I appreciate this expression, not as personal to myself, but as your tribute of devotion to the government of the United States, over which, by the partiality of your suffrage, I am permitted to preside. [Great applause.]

I am glad to meet the working-men of this busy manufacturing town, and to meet my fellow-citizens generally, and congratulate them upon the improved conditions of business over 1896. [Enthusiastic applause.] I am glad to know that this year the place hunts the man, and not the man the place. [Applause.]

Somebody has asked, "What are the signs of the times?" Coming along on the railway I received a letter from one of your great works here, and I thought it gave the best answer that could be made. Here it is:

In 1896 from one to three hundred men were turned away from our gates every morning and every night, who were looking for work. [A voice, "That's so, too."] Many of these people went away with tears in their eyes. We gave work to large numbers of people, for a few days at a time, simply to enable them to live. During the last two years our bulletin-board has been constantly covered with the notice of additional men wanted. [Great applause and cries of "True!"]

In one of your factories in 1896, in the month of September, you paid thirty-three thousand dollars to labor; in the same month of 1899 you paid one hundred and three thousand dollars to labor. [Cheers.] I am told that this railroad over which we are traveling loaded, in the month of September of this year, seventyeight hundred cars-more than have ever been loaded in a single month before in its history-with the products of the farm, the mill, and the factories along its line [great applause]-eighteen hundred more than were loaded in the same period last year. So I feel that I can congratulate you upon the prosperity that prevails in this community and throughout the country. The hum of industry has drowned the voice of calamity [applause], and the voice of despair is no longer heard in the United States, and the orators without occupation here are now looking to the Philippines for comfort. [Laughter and long-continued applause.] As we opposed them when they were standing against industrial progress at home, we oppose them now as they are standing against national duty in our island possessions in the Pacific. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

CXXXVII.

SPEECH AT LA SALLE, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 7, 1899.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

It gives me very great pleasure to meet you here today. I never journey through the East or the South or the West that my pride in my country is not increased, my love of it enhanced, and my confidence in its noble mission and its permanence firmly reëstablished in my heart. [Great applause.] We are a nation of seventyfive millions of people, all of them possessing equal opportunity in the race of life, with public schools and other schools open for the education of the boys and girls freely and without price, with hope put in the heart of the humblest boy in the land, and the right of that humblest boy to aspire to the highest place in the gift of this free republic. [Great applause.] And if you needed any example of the glorious opportunities of American citizenship, you have them here in your own great State of Illinois. Lincoln, Douglas, Logan, Lovejoy, Oglesby, and a long list besides, coming from the humblest walks of life, at last reached the highest summits of fame and favor in the republic.

And now to us—for this government rests upon the people and all the people—is committed this great republic. Shall we maintain it in its integrity? Let your boys be educated in patriotism, and if so educated no harm can befall the nation. [Long-continued applause.]

CXXXVIII.

SPEECH AT OTTAWA, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 7, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I very much appreciate the fact that at this busy period so many of you have left your accustomed occupations and assembled here to give me welcome and cheer. I rejoice at your prosperity and at the prosperity which is everywhere observed throughout our country, and I wish for you and all the people continued blessings under a government which we love and believe is the best in the world. [Applause.]

At the city of Galesburg, which we have just left, we celebrated the anniversary of the great debate between

Lincoln and Douglas. I am told that the first of the series occurred in your city [a voice, "In 1858"] in 1858. That, my fellow-citizens, was a memorable discussion of great political questions. That was the beginning of the new era of our national life. It was a great blow that was struck here and elsewhere at human slavery; and from that debate, entering the hearts and homes and consciences of the people, finally came the civil struggle that gave your great citizen the opportunity to emancipate four millions of people. [Long-continued applause.]

CXXXIX.

Speech at Joliet, Illinois, October 7, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

Some one told me that the crowd would be very small at Joliet because the workshops were too busy to close. What would this great audience have been if all the workmen had been able to leave their employment? I am told that you are so busy that you run two turns a day [a voice, "Some places three!"] and some places three. I suppose that is on the principle that one good turn deserves another. [Laughter and applause.]

I am glad to know that every one of the fires of all the furnaces and factories and shops in the city of Joliet has been lighted, and that employment waits upon labor in every department of human industry here.

This nation is doing a vast business not only at home, but abroad. For the first time in our history we

send more American manufactured products abroad. made by American working-men, than we buy abroad. [Applause.] The balance of trade is, therefore, in our favor, and it is paid in gold. [Great applause.] In 1898 we sent six hundred million dollars' worth of American products abroad in excess of what we bought abroad, and five hundred and thirty million dollars' worth in 1899-all of which was paid to the American people. and helped furnish pay to American labor. Ten years ago we imported seven hundred and thirty-five million pounds of tin-plate from the other side. Last year we imported one hundred million pounds, and manufactured at home nearly eight hundred million pounds of that product. [Applause.] We not only practically supply our own market, but we are beginning to export tin-plate. In 1894 we sent abroad American locomotives valued at one million dollars. In 1899 we sent abroad American locomotives valued at four million seven hundred thousand dollars. Our trade is not only growing at home, but it is growing abroad.

All that I wish for my countrymen is that this prosperity may be continued—continued because it brings happiness and contentment and joy to every household of the land.

We not only send our goods abroad, but we have sent our flag abroad. [Enthusiastic and long-continued applause.] The flag now floats where it never floated before, the symbol of freedom, the hope of humanity, of liberty and civilization. And where that flag floats, borne by our soldier boys, there our hearts are. [Loud and prolonged cheering.]

CXLI.

Remarks at the Children's Exercises, Auditorium, Chicago, October 8, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I could not be induced to interrupt by speech the singing of the American hymn, which is next on the program. I can only express to you the very great satisfaction it is to me to witness this magnificent demonstration of patriotism and love of country and of the flag. [Great applause.]

CXLII.

REMARKS AT QUINN CHAPEL, CHICAGO, OCTOBER 8, 1899.

My Friends :

It gives me great pleasure to meet with you on this memorial day. The noblest sentiment of the human heart, after love of God, is love of country, and that ineludes love of home, the corner-stone of its strength and safety. Your race has demonstrated its patriotism by its sacrifices, its love of the flag by dying for it. That is the greatest test of fidelity and loyalty. The nation has appreciated the valor and patriotism of the black men of the United States. They not only fought in Cuba, but in the Philippines, and they are still carrying the flag as the symbol of liberty and hope to an oppressed people.

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CXL.

REMARKS AT THE MARQUETTE CLUB BANQUET, CHICAGO, OCTOBER 7, 1899.

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Marquette Club:

I will not interrupt the orderly progress of the program which has been laid before you, and to which I must insist that your chairman shall adhere. I rise at this moment only to express my warm appreciation of the affectionate salutation of the Marquette Club, and to say that I reciprocate it with all my heart. [Applause.]

We are not strangers. This scene to-night is not altogether unfamiliar to me. I stood among you once before, now more than three years ago, your honored guest; and I have for you all to-night the most grateful regard and unstinted gratitude. You have not only been my friends, faithful and unfaltering at all times, but, what is of more moment, you have been at all times faithful to your country, loyal to the inviolability of public faith, standing always for honest government and honest money [great applause], and forever standing for the honor and integrity of the flag wherever it floats and wherever it is carried by our soldiers or our sailors on land or on sea. [Long-continued applause.]

CXLIII.

Speech at the Citizens' Banquet, Chicago, October 9, 1899.

Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen :

I am glad to join you in extending a sincere welcome to the distinguished statesmen and diplomatists who represent the great countries adjoining us on the south and the north. We are bound to them both by ties of neighborhood. We rejoice in their prosperity, and we wish them God-speed in the pathway of progress they are so energetically and successfully pursuing. [Great applause.]

You have assigned to me the toast "The Nation" our nation, whose strength and safety rests, not in armies nor in navies, but in the love and loyalty of the people [great applause], which have never failed to respond to every emergency and to be all-conquering in every peril.

On the reverse side of the great seal of the United States, authorized by Congress June 20, 1782, and adopted as the seal of the United States of America after its formation under the Federal Constitution, is the pyramid, signifying strength and duration. The eye over it and the motto allude to the many signal interpositions of Providence in favor of the American cause. The date underneath, 1776, is that of the Declaration of Independence, and the words under it signify the beginning of a new American era which commences from that date. It is impossible to trace our history since without feeling that the Providence which was with us in the beginning has continued to the nation his gracious interposition. When, unhappily, we have been engaged in war, he has given us the victory. Fortunate, indeed, that it can be said we have had no clash of arms which has ended in defeat, and no responsibility resulting from war which has been tainted with dishonor. [Great applause.] In peace we have been signally blessed, and our progress has gone on unchecked and ever increasing in the intervening years. In boundless wealth of soil and mine and forest nature has favored us, while all races of men of every nationality and climate have contributed their good blood and brains to make the nation what it is.

From a little less than four millions in 1790 our population has grown to upward of sixty-two millions in 1890, and our estimated population to-day, made by the governors of the States, is 77,803,231. We have gone from thirteen States to forty-five. We have annexed every variety of territory [applause], from the coral reefs and cocoanut groves of Key West to the icy regions of northern Alaska—territory skirting the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, the Pacific, and the Arctic, and the islands of the Pacific and Caribbean Sea, and we have but recently still further extended our jurisdiction to the far-away islands of the Philippines. [Great and long-continued applause.]

Our territory is more than four times larger than it was when the treaty of peace was signed in 1783. Our industrial growth has been even more phenomenal than that of population and territory. Our wealth, estimated in 1790 at \$462,000,000, has advanced to \$65,000,000,000. Education has not been overlooked. The mental and moral equipment of the youth, upon whom in the future will rest the responsibilities of government, has had the unceasing and generous care of the States and the nation. We expended in 1897–98 in public education open to all over \$202,115,548, in secondary education more than \$23,474,683, and for higher education for the same period, \$30,307,902; and the number of pupils attending our public schools in 1896–97 was 14,652,492, or about twenty per cent. of our population. [Applause.] My countrymen, is this not a pillar of strength to the republic? [Applause.]

Our national credit, often tried, has ever been upheld. It has no superior and no stain. The United States has never repudiated a national obligation [great applause] either to its creditors or to humanity. [Great applause.] It will not now begin to do either. [Great applause.] It never struck a blow except for civilization, and never struck its colors. [Prolonged applause.]

Has the pyramid lost any of its strength? The pyramid put on the reverse side of the great seal of the United States by the fathers as signifying strength and duration, has it lost any of its strength? [Voices, "No!"] Has the republic lost any of its virility? Has the self-governing principle been weakened? Is there any present menace to our stability and duration? [Voices, "No!"] These questions bring but one answer. The republic is sturdier and stronger than ever before. [Great applause.] Government by the people has not been retarded, but advanced. [Applause.] Freedom under the flag is more universal than when the Union was formed. Our steps have been forward, not backward. We have not stood still. "From Plymouth Rock to the Philippines [great applause] the grand triumphant march of human liberty has never paused." [Great applause.]

Fraternity and union are deeply embedded in the hearts of the American people. For half a century before the Civil War disunion was the fear of men of all sections. That word has gone out of the American vocabulary. [Great applause.] It is spoken now only as a historical memory. North, South, East, and West were never so welded together, and while they may differ about internal policies, they are all for the Union and the maintenance of the integrity of the flag. [Great applause.]

Has patriotism died out in the hearts of the people? [Voices, "No!"] Witness the two hundred and fifty thousand men springing to arms and in thirty days organized into regiments for the Spanish War, and a million more ready to respond [applause]; and the more recent enlistment of seventy thousand men, with many other thousands anxious to enlist, but whose services were not needed-not, my fellow-citizens, for the glory of arms, but for the love of peace. [Applause.] Has American heroism declined? [Voices, "No!"] The shattered and sinking fleets of the Spanish navy at Manila and Santiago, the charge of San Juan hill and El Caney, and the intrepid valor and determination of our gallant troops in more than fifty engagements in Luzon, attest the fact that the American soldier and sailor have lost none of the qualities which made our earlier army and navy illustrious and invincible. [Great applause.]

After one hundred and twenty-three years the pyramid stands unshaken. It has had some severe shocks, but it remains immovable. It has endured the storms of war, only to be strengthened. It stands firmer and gives greater promise of duration than when the fathers made it the symbol of their faith. [Applause.]

May we not feel assured, may we not feel certain tonight that, if we do our duty, the Providence which favored the undertakings of the fathers, and every step of our progress since, will continue his watchful care and guidance over us, and that "the hand that led us to our present place will not relax ' is grasp till we have reached the glorious goal be has fixed for us in the achievement of his end?" [Prolonged applause.]

CXLIV.

Speech at the Reunion of the Army of the Tennessee, Chicago, October 10, 1899.

General Dodge, my Comrades :

It is not my intention to interrupt your business meeting, and I have only called that I might pay my respects and bring my personal good wishes to the Army of the Tennessee. I have heard with gratitude and satisfaction the warm words of your president in pledging the support of the veterans of the Army of the Tennessee to the flag and to the patriotic purposes of the government of the United States. [Great applause.] I needed no such pledge from your president. I could have known without his stating it where this grand Army of the Tennessee would be when the flag was assailed and wherever it was assailed, carried by the soldiers and sailors of the United States. [Great applause.] I could have known where this veteran army would stand when I recalled for an instant its history, with its Grant, its Sherman, its McPherson, and its Logan. [Applause.]

As I have said, I have only come to bring to you the homage which I feel for the veterans of 1861, who for more than thirty-three years have taught patriotism to the people of the United States. And when the hour of our peril came last year, as a result of your instruction, more than a million men volunteered to defend the flag. [Enthusiastic applause.]

I thank you for your cordial welcome, and bid you all good morning.

CXLV.

Speech to the Chicago Bricklayers and Stone-Masons' Union, Chicago, October 10, 1899.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen :

It gives me great pleasure to meet with the workingmen of the city of Chicago. Of the many receptions that have been tendered me during my three days' stay in your city, none has given me more pleasure or greater satisfaction than the welcome accorded to me in this hall and the kind words spoken in my behalf by your president. [Cheers.] I have come, not to make an address to you, but rather to give evidence, by my presence, of the great interest I feel in the cause of labor, and to congratulate you and your fellow-workmen everywhere upon the improved condition of the country and upon our general prosperity. [Applause.]

When labor is employed at fair wages, homes are

made happy. The labor of the United States is better employed, better paid, and commands greater respect than that of any other nation in the world. [Applause.] What I would leave with you here to-night, in the moment I shall occupy, is the thought that you should improve all the advantages and opportunities of this free government. Your families, your boys and girls, are very close to your heart-strings, and you ought to avail yourselves of the opportunity offered your children by the excellent schools of the city of Chicago. Give your children the best education obtainable, and that is the best equipment you can give any American. Integrity wins its way everywhere, and what I do not want the working-men of this country to do is to establish hostile camps and divide the people of the United States into classes. I do not want any wall built against the ambitions of your boy, nor any barrier put in the way of his occupying the highest places in the gift of the people. My fellow-citizens, I must stop. I leave my best wishes and good will, with the prayer that you may always have good employment, good wages, and that in your homes you may have love and contentment. [Great cheering.]

CXLVI.

Speech at Banquet of the Commercial Club, Chicago, October 10, 1899.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

I am honored to be the guest of this great club, representing, as it does, the energy and activity and enterprise of this inland city. I can testify to the energy of your people. If I ever had any doubt about the wisdom of eight hours being a full day's work, that doubt has been removed. [Laughter.] I understand there is already a new conflict between the federal committee and the festival committee over the fact that thirty minutes of my time in the last four days remained unassigned. [Laughter.]

I congratulate you, gentlemen, upon the growth and advancement of your city and the evidences of prosperity everywhere observed. Nothing impressed me more, in the multitudes on the streets yesterday, than the smiling, happy faces of the people. That was evidence to me of your real and substantial prosperity. It meant steady employment, good wages, happy homes, and these are always indispensable to good government and to the welfare of the people. [Applause.]

We have had a wonderful industrial development in the last two years. Our workshops never were so busy, our trade at home was never so large, and our foreign trade exceeds that of any like period in all our history. In the year 1899 we bought abroad upward of \$697,000,-000 worth of goods, and in the same year sold abroad \$1,227,000,000 worth, giving a balance of trade in our favor of \$530,000,000. This means more labor at home, more money at home, more earnings at home. Our products are carried on every sea and find a market in all the ports of the world. In 1888 the Japanese government took from us 8.86 per cent. of its total imports, and in 1898 14.57 per cent. We are the greatest producers of pig-iron, and raise three fourths of the cotton of the world. Our manufactures of iron and steel exceed those of any other country.

The growth of the railway systems of the United States is phenomenal. From thirty miles in 1830 we have gone to 184,590 miles in 1897. The system of reciprocal agreements with foreign countries, provided by the tariff act of 1897, promises beneficial results in the increase of our export trade. Most of the conventions already made await ratification before going into effect, but the first reciprocal arrangement, under the third section of the act, made with France, has now been in operation over a year. It is intended especially to cover some important products of the West and Northwest which are very largely handled by the merchants of Chicago.

A comparison of these special exports of the United States to France for the years 1898 and 1899 shows an increase in one year of reciprocity of about 16 per cent. in logs and lumber, an increase of over 240 per cent. in export of bacon and hams, and an increase of 51 per cent. in the export of lard and its compounds. We have also, my fellow-citizens, made a parcels-post arrangement with Germany—the first ever made between the United States and any country in Europe. It went into effect on October 1, and permits the interchange through the mails of all articles up to eleven pounds in weight at the rate of twelve cents per pound. This has been the result of fifteen years of effort to reach such an agreement, but not until now has it been carried through with success.

Our ship-building has been greatly increased. [Anplause.] For the first time in all our history the tonnage of our steam-vessels on June 1 exceeded the tonnage of all our sailing-vessels, barges, and all other craft. We built in 1897 and 1898 more vessels of steel than of all other materials combined. Our tonnage increased during the latter year 100,000 tons, and is without a parallel in our recent history. Larger ocean steamships are under construction in the United States than ever before. Our ship-building plants are being enlarged and new establishments projected. There is no better time than the present, therefore, with all these favorable conditions and others which will suggest themselves to you, for the development of a powerful merchant marine. [Applause.] Our relations to other nations by reason of our new possessions make this duty even more commanding than it has ever been. [Applause.] American shipping under the American flag should be found in all oceans, and our trade must go wherever our flag goes.

Our internal commerce has even exceeded the growth of our outward commerce. Our railroad transportation lines never were so crowded, while our builders of ears and engines are unable to fill the pressing orders made necessary by the increased traffic. [Applause.]

We have everything, gentlemen, upon which to congratulate ourselves as to the present condition of the country. The only fear I have ever had, and I speak to business men who are much more familiar with the subject than I can be—the only fear I have ever had is that we might overdo it, and that really we were not exercising the conservatism so essential to substantial business. You would doubtless disagree with me as to this fear and say it was without foundation. I trust I am mistaken, and I am told by business men everywhere that the business of the country now rests upon a substantial basis, and that you are really only making what there is a market for; and as long as you do that, of course, you are doing a safe business and our markets are going to increase. [Applause.] Our products are going into every port, and the reason for it is that we make the best products and undersell everybody else in the world.

I am glad to join in your welcome to the representative of Mexico and the representative of the Canadian government. [Great applause.]

CXLVII.

Speech at the Fair Grounds, Evansville, Indiana, October 11, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It gives me very great pleasure to participate with you, men of the North and men of the South, in this glad'reunion. We are already unified. [Great applause.] The peace which Grant and Lee made at Appomattox has been kept [great applause], not by law or restraint, but by love and fraternal regard [applause]; and the Union to-day rests, not in force, which might fail, but in the hearts of the people, which cannot fail—a union that can never be severed. [Applause.] If I have been permitted in the slightest degree to help in the work of reconciliation and unification, I shall hold it the greatest honor of my life. [Great applause.]

When the call was made for troops to prosecute the Spanish War, men from the North and the South, without regard to creed, political or religious, or nationality. rallied to the standard of the Union. [Applause.] The best men of the South came—the sons of the old Confederate soldiers: the best men of the North came-the sons of the old soldiers of the republic. All joined together in heart and hand to maintain the flag of their country and follow wherever it might lead. [Great applause.] We have been more than reconciledcemented in faith and affection; and our reuniting has been baptized in the best blood of both sections of our beloved country. [Cheers.] If a gallant Northern soldier-the lamented Miley-put the flag up at Santiago, a Southern soldier-the gallant Brumby-put it up over Manila. [Great applause.] And, my fellowcitizens, it rests upon us to put the past behind us, except as a sacred and glorious memory, and to look to the future.

This nation relies upon the patriotism of the people of the North and South to stand by the highest ideal of free government and pursue the path of duty and destiny with unfaltering step and unfailing courage.

We come together, not as a third of a century ago, with arms in our hands, but with love for each other in our hearts, ready together to give the best we have to the cause of country. [Long-continued applause.]

CXLVIII.

REMARKS FROM THE TRAIN AT EVANSVILLE, INDIANA, OCTOBER 11, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I appear only for a moment, in response to your repeated calls, that I may express to all of you my very warm appreciation of the generous welcome which has been accorded to me by the citizens of this thriving city of Indiana. I am not only grateful for the reception given by the citizens, but I am likewise grateful for the reception given by the visitors representing the North and the South [applause], now forever united. [Great applause.]

The strength and safety of this great nation of ours do not rest in armies or in navies, but in the love and loyalty of its people. [Applause.] And so long as we have the people behind that, so long as we have the sentiment that goes out from the homes and the firesides of the American people, so long will we have the best citizenship and at last the best country. [Great applause.]

CXLIX.

Speech at Vincennes, Indiana, October 11, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

We ought to be a very happy people. We *are* a very happy people. The blessings which have been showered

upon us have been almost boundless, and no nation in the world has more to be thankful for than ours. We have been blessed with good crops and fair prices. Wages and employment have waited upon labor, and, differing from what it was a few years ago, labor is not waiting on the outside for wages. Our financial condition was never better than now. We have good money and plenty of it circulating as our medium of exchange. National banks may fail, fluctuation in prices come and go, but the money of the country remains always good; and when you have a dollar of it you know that dollar is worth one hundred cents.

Not only have we prosperity, but we have patriotism; and what more do we want? We are at peace with all the nations of the world, and were never on better terms and closer relations with each of them than we are today. We have yet some trouble in the Philippines, but the gallantry of the brave boys who have gone there will, I trust, soon put down that rebellion against the sovereignty of the United States. [Great and longcontinued applause.]

CL.

SPEECH AT TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA, OCTOBER 11, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I have been very greatly pleased, as I have journeyed through your State, with what I have seen and heard the evidences of good feeling and cheerfulness on the part of the people, and of prosperity in your fields and your workshops. It afforded me much satisfaction to give greeting at the great reunion in the city of Evansville to the soldiers who fought against each other from '61 to '65. There I saw the Blue and the Gray vying with each other in expressions of love of country and devotion to the flag. I saw, also, many of the young soldiers of the Spanish War furnished by the State of Indiana, and I therefore saw not only the patriotism of '61, but I saw the patriotism of '98.

It gave me pleasure also, as I approached your city, to see the working-men from your great mills out in line, in sight of the train, to extend me greeting and welcome. And not the least of the pleasure of coming to Terre Haute is to meet my old and valued friend, the veteran patriot and statesman, the honored citizen of your own city, Richard W. Thompson. [Prolonged applause.]

CLI.

SPEECH AT DANVILLE, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 11, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

This was not on the program. I had no idea that we were to stop at the city of Danville, and much less did I think I would be greeted by such an audience of my fellowcitizens. It gives me very great pleasure to meet you all, to meet you at the home of my distinguished and longtime friend, Representative Cannon. [Applause.] He is the man to whom everybody must apply if he wants an appropriation. [Laughter and applause.] We are collecting just now a million dollars for every workingday of the month from our internal revenue taxes, and you do not seem to be very much oppressed here on that account. [Laughter.] We are collecting about six hundred and fifty thousand dollars every working-day of every month from the tariff that we put on foreign products that come into the United States from other countries [great applause], and that does not seem to give you any serious trouble here. [Laughter.] That vast amount of money received into the Treasury daily from internal taxes and customs tariffs meets the ordinary expenses of the government, and just now a part of it is used to pay the soldiers and sailors who are engaged in the distant islands suppressing rebellion against the sovereignty of the United States. [Great applause.] And you can be assured that not a dollar of that will go out except for honest purposes while your distinguished representative presides over the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives. [Long-continued applause.]

CLII.

SPEECH AT HOOPESTOWN, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 11, 1899.

Fellow-Citizens :

We have seen a great many people to-day; we have been greeted by many, many thousands of our fellowcitizens; but none of the greetings has been more hearty than that which you accord us here to-night. From the appearance and cheerfulness of the people, it has seemed to me that all things must be going well with you; that you have employment at fair wages; that you have good crops at fair prices; and that your great industry here, that of canning, is in every respect most satisfactory and successful. I congratulate you that you are using American tin, for that is now one of the great enterprises of the country. [Great applause.]

We are not a military people. We love peace. We love the pursuits of peace. We are not a military government, and never will become one; it is against the genius of our institutions and the spirit of the The government of the United States rests people. in the hearts and consciences of the people. It is their government; it represents them; it is the agent of their will: and while we are not a military government or a military people, we never lack for soldiers in any cause which the people espouse. [Great applause.] From the days of the Revolution down to the present hour, in every instance of need or peril. the citizens of the United States have rallied, almost as one man, to fight its battles and defend the honor of the country, [Applause.] In our recent war with Spain, the people, not only of your State, but of every State of the Union, North and South, rushed forward by hundreds of thousands to serve their country; and they will not abate their patriotism till every rebellion everywhere and by whomsoever conducted shall be put down. [Great applause.] Is that what you want, men of Illinois? [General cry of "Yes!"] That is what is being done and what will be done. [Cries of "Good!"] Our people become soldiers of the republic to defend with their lives what they love; but the moment the emergency is over, that moment they rush back to the peaceful walks of citizenship. There never was a grander, more sublime scene in American history than at the close of the Civil War. When Appomattox came, with the peace which it brought, the mighty army of two million six hundred thousand men

from every section of the North melted back into eitizenship, and ever since have been upholding as good eitizens the government they so faithfully served. [Great and long-continued applause.]

CLIII.

Speech at Watseka, Illinois, October 11, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I feel like making more than a mere passing acknowledgment of your kindly greeting. I recall that in this community and county were some of my best and earliest friends, and I will be pardoned if I say that through all the years since they have been firm and unfaltering in their support and generous in upholding my hands.

The demonstrations which we have witnessed to-day, throughout your State and in the State of Indiana, indicate the deep interest which the people feel in the affairs of the government. It is your government. It is what you make it. Its virtue and its vigor come from you—eome from the firesides of our country; and your unceasing vigilance not only helps the public servant, but improves the public service. Unhappy will be the day for our country when the people become indifferent to its principles and its mission; when they lose their interest or relax their vigilance. Permit me to say that those who serve you in subordinate places in the government are among the most faithful that ean be found anywhere. The enormous sums of money that are collected by the United States, the vast machinery

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scattered from one end of the country to the other for the collection and disbursement of these sums year in and year out, show even a smaller percentage of loss or waste than in the ordinary business occupations of life. Providence has blessed us. We have opportunities that come to no other peoples in the world. Let us keep sacred this great government that dispenses its blessings equally to all. [Great and prolonged applause.]

CLIV.

Remarks at Red Wing, Minnesota, October 12, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

In the moment we shall remain with you, I desire only to express my appreciation of your greeting.

I have come to your State to make public acknowledgment of the patriotism of your people, and to give welcome to the gallant Thirteenth Minnesota, which for the last twelve months has been upholding the sovereignty of the United States and the glorious flag of our Union. [Enthusiastic applause.]

As I have passed through the country I have been glad to note that not only are the people filled with patriotism, but that prosperity everywhere abounds, and that our people are made happy by steady employment, good crops, and fair prices. [Great applause.]

CLV.

Address at Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 12, 1899.

Governor Lind, Mayor Gray, Members of the Thirteenth Volunteer Regiment, and my Fellow-Citizens:

I have come from the capital of the nation that I might give the nation's welcome to a regiment of the nation's defenders. [Applause.] I have come to voice the love and gratitude of every American heart that loves the flag. [Applause.] I bid you welcome because you did your duty; and that is the highest tribute that can be paid to any soldier in the world. [Great applause.] I do not think the members of this regiment themselves, or the regiments constituting the Eighth Army-Corps in the Philippines, realize the importance and heroism of their action after the treaty of peace was signed and ratified. And I want to say to you men and to Colonel Summers-General Summers now, because of his gallantry [applause]-that the officers and men of the Eighth Army-Corps sent to Washington telling me they would stay in the Philippines till I could create a new army and send it there to take their place. [Great applause.] I come to bid you welcome, and to give you the honor of the nation because you have sustained its flag [applause]; because you have refused to stack arms and to sound a retreat. [Applause.] And you have come back having a high place in the hearts and affections of the American people, and gratitude that will continue for all time. [Applause.]

You have also, by your services, added much to the cause of humanity, added much to the advancement of eivilization, which has so characterized the century now fading away.

This century has been most memorable in the world's progress and history. The march of mankind in moral and intellectual advancement has been onward and upward. The growth of the world's material interests is so vast that the figures would almost seem to be drawn from the realm of imagination rather than from the field of fact. All peoples have felt the elevating influences of the century. Humanity and home have been lifted up. Nations have been drawn closer together in feeling and interest and sentiment. Contact has removed old prejudices at home and abroad, and brought about a better understanding, which has destroyed enmity and promoted amity. Civilization has achieved great victories, and to the gospel of good will there are now few dissenters. The great powers, under the inspiration of the Czar of Russia, have been sitting together in a parliament of peace, seeking to find a common basis for the adjustment of controversies without war and waste. While they have not made war impossible, they have made peace more probable, and have emphasized the universal love of peace. They have made a gain for the world's repose; and Americans, while rejoicing in what was accomplished, rejoice also for their participation in the great cause, yet to be advanced, we trust, to more perfect fulfilment.

The century has blessed us as a nation. While it has not given us perfect peace, it has brought us constant and ever-increasing blessings, and imposed upon us no humiliation or dishonor. [Applause.] We have had wars with foreign powers, and the unhappy one at home; but all terminated in no loss of prestige or honor or territory, but a gain in all. [Great applause.]

The increase of our territory has added vastly to our strength and prosperity without changing our republican character. [Applause.] It has given wider scope to democratic principles and enlarged the area for republican institutions. [Applause.]

I sometimes think we do not realize what we have, and the solemn trust we have committed to our keeping. The study of geography and history has now more than a passing interest to the American people. It is worth recalling that when the Federal Union was formed we held 909,050 square miles of territory, and in less than one hundred years we have grown to 3,845,694 square miles. [Great applause.]

The first acquisition, in 1803, known as the Louisiana Purchase, embraced 883,072 square miles, exclusive of the area west of the Rocky Mountains. Its vastness and value will be best understood when I sav that it comprises the entire States of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, and parts of the States of Minnesota, Kansas, Colorado, Montana, Wyoming, Louisiana, all of the Indian Territory, and part of Oklahoma Territory. It would seem almost incredible to the present generation that this rich addition to the federal domain should have been opposed; and yet it was resisted in every form and by every kind of assault. The ceded territory was characterized as a "malarial swamp," its prairies destitute of trees or vegetation. It was commonly charged that we had been cheated by giving fifteen million dollars

for a territory so worthless and pestilentia, that it could never be inhabited or put to use [laughter and applause]; and it was also gravely asserted that the purchase would lead to complications and wars with European powers. In the debate in the Senate over the treaty a senator from Connecticut said :

The vast and unmanageable extent which the accession of Louisiana will give the United States, the consequent dispersion of our population, and the destruction of that balance which it is so important to maintain between the Eastern and Western States, threaten, at no very distant day, the subversion of our Union. [Laughter.]

A senator from Delaware said :

But as to Louisiana, —this new, immense, unbounded world, —if it should ever be incorporated into the Union, of which I have no idea, and which can only be done by amending the Constitution, I believe it will be the greatest curse that could at present befall us. It may be productive of innumerable evils, and especially of one that I fear to ever look upon. . . Thus our citizens will be removed to the immense distance of two or three thousand miles from the capital of the Union, where they will scarcely ever feel the rays of the general government; their affections will become alienated; they will gradually begin to view us as strangers; they will form other commercial connections, and our interests will become distinct. . . And I do say that under existing circumstances, even supposing that this extent of territory was a desirable acquisition, fifteen millions of dollars was a most enormous sum to give.

A distinguished representative from Virginia said he feared the effect of the vast extent of our empire; he feared the effects of the increased value of labor, the decrease in the value of lands, and the influence of climate upon our citizens who should migrate thither. He did fear (though this land was represented as flowing with milk and honey) that this Eden of the New World would prove a elemetery for the bodies of our citizens who emigrated to it. [Laughter.]

Imperialism, as it was termed, had a chief place in the eatalogue of disasters which would follow the ratification of the Louisiana treaty, and it was alleged that this was the first and sure step to the ereation of an empire and the subversion of the Constitution. The expression "planetary policy," which is now employed by some critics, so far as I have been able to discover, first appeared here. Jefferson was made the subject of satirical verse:

> See him commence, land speculator, And buy up the realm of nature, Towns, cities, Indians, Spaniards, prairies. . . .

The opponents, however, were in the minority, and the star of the republic did not set [great applause], and the mighty West was brought under the flag of justice, freedom, and opportunity. [Continued applause.]

In 1819 we added 69,749 square miles, which now comprise Florida and parts of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

In 1845 we received the eession of Texas. It contained 376,931 square miles, and embraced the State of Texas and parts of Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, and New Mexico.

The next cession was under the treaty of 1848, containing 522,568 square miles, embracing the States of California, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming, and of the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico.

In 1853 we acquired by the Gadsden Purehase 45,535 square miles, which embrace parts of Arizona and New Mexico.

The next great acquisition was that of Alaska in 1867, containing 599,446 square miles. This treaty, like that for the Louisiana Purchase, was fiercely resisted. When the House had under consideration the bill appropriating the sum of \$7,200,000, the amount of purchase-money for Alaska agreed upon by the treaty, the minority report on that bill quoted approvingly an article which characterized Alaska as a "terra incognita," and stated "that persons well informed as to Alaska are ungrateful enough to hint that we could have bought a much superior elephant in Siam or Bombay for one hundredth part of the money, with not a ten thousandth part of the expense incurred in keeping the animal in proper condition." [Laughter.]

The minority report proceeded to say that

The committee, having considered the various questions involved and the evidence in regard to this country under consideration, is forced to the conclusion that the possession of the country is of no value to the government of the United States. That it will be a source of weakness instead of power, and a constant annual expense for which there will be no adequate return. That it has no capacity as an agricultural country. That so far as known it has no value as a mineral country. . . . That its fur trade is of insignificant value to us as a nation, and will speedily come to an end. That the fisheries are of doubtful value, and that whatever the value of its fisheries, its fur trade, its timber, or its minerals, they were all open to the citizens of the United States under existing treaties. That the right to govern a nation or nations of savages, in a climate unfit for the habitation of civilized men, was not worthy of purchase. . . . They therefore report the following resolution : Resolved, That it is inexpedient to appropriate money for the purchase of Russian America.

In the debate in the House a distinguished representative from Massachusetts said : If we are to pay for Russia's friendship this amount, I desire to give her the \$7,200,000 and let her keep Alaska. I have no doubt that at any time within the last twenty years we could have had Alaska for the asking, provided we would have taken it as a gift; but no man, except one insane enough to buy the earthquakes of St. Thomas and the ice-fields of Greenland, could be found to agree to any other terms for its acquisition to this country.

To this treaty the opponents were in the minority; and that great, rich territory, from which we have drawn many and many times over its purchase price, and with phenomenal wealth yet undeveloped, is ours in spite of their opposition. [Great applause.]

In the last year we have added to the territory belonging to the United States the Hawaiian Islands, one of the gems of the Pacific Ocean, containing 6740 square miles; Porto Rico, containing 3600 square miles; Guam, containing 175 square miles; and the Philippine archipelago, embracing approximately 143,000 square [Great applause.] This latest acquisition is miles. about one sixth the size of the original thirteen States. It is larger than the combined area of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and the District of Columbia. It exceeds in area all of the New England States. It is almost as large as Washington and Oregon combined, and greater than Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois united; three times larger than New York, and three and one half times larger than the State of Ohio.

The treaty of peace with Spain, which gave us the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Guam, met with some opposition in the Senate, but was ratified by that body by more than a two thirds vote; while in the House the appropriation of twenty million dollars was made with little or no opposition. [Great applause.] As in the case of the Louisiana Purchase and Alaska, the opponents of the treaty were in the minority, and the star of hope to an oppressed people was not extinguished. [Continued applause.]

The future of these new possessions is in the keeping of Congress, and Congress is the servant of the people. That they will be retained under the benign sovereignty of the United States I do not permit myself to doubt. [Enthusiastic applause.] That they will prove a rich and invaluable heritage I feel assured. That Congress will provide for them a government which will bring them blessings, which will promote their material interests as well as advance their people in the path of civilization and intelligence, I confidently believe. They will not be governed as vassals or serfs or slaves; they will be given a government of liberty, regulated by law [great applause], honestly administered, without oppressing exactions, taxation without tyranny, justice without bribe, education without distinction of social condition, freedom of religious worship, and protection in "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." [Great and long-continued applause.]

CLVI.

Speech at the Auditorium, St. Paul, Minnesota, October 12, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I have been more than gratified to meet the people of the State of Minnesota, and it gives me special and peculiar pleasure to meet with my friends and fellowcitizens of the great city of St. Paul. The demonstration of patriotism that has been seen on every hand as I have traveled through the East and the West into your State is most inspiring, and I never look into the faces of a great American audience that I do not feel that the free institutions of the United States are forever safe in their hands. [Great applause.]

The patriotism of the American people takes the place of a large standing army. We do not need such an army in the United States. We can have an army on any notice if the nation is in peril or its standard is threatened. [Applause.] Eager is every American citizen to answer the call to arms, and just as eager to come back to the paths of peace when the emergency is past. [Great applause.]

I was glad to welcome back to the State of Minnesota the Thirteenth Volunteer Infantry. [Great applause.] I was glad they did not want to come home until the government of the United States was ready to dispense with their services. [Continued applause.] I was glad that, no matter who advised otherwise, they did not propose to beat a retreat [great applause]; and there is not a man, woman, or child in the State of Minnesota to-day who is not proud that they staved there until their places were filled by other troops. [Great applause.] The American soldier never runs away from duty [applause], even when his time is up. [Great applause.] The other day, when that gallant Tennessee regiment that had been in the Philippines for more than a year had embarked upon the good ship Sherman to come home. and our forces at Cebu were attacked, they got off at once and went and shed their blood with the other soldiers to maintain American honor. [Great applause.]

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So I say we do not need large standing armies, for we have in the hearts of the American people a purpose to do and die, if need be, in the service of the republic. [Great applause.]

I am glad you have prosperity here. [Applause.] You all look like it. [Applause.] You act like it, and I hope it has come to stay. [Great applause.]

CLVII.

SPEECH AT SUPERIOR, WISCONSIN, OCTOBER 13, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It is plain to see that the people of Superior and vieinity love their country. The demonstration of the morning would indicate to the most casual observer that these people, men, women, and children, are loyal to the flag and faithful in upholding its honor wherever it has been raised. [Great applause.]

To come again to Superior gives me special pleasure. I remember years ago to have been a guest of your eity. I remember the warmth of my greeting then, but this far surpasses anything that has gone before; and no reception, great as it has been, in our long journey has been more beautiful or impressive than the one you have given us here to-day. [Enthusiastic applause.]

I have been glad to note your progress and your prosperity; the difference between your condition when I was last here and your condition now. The country is altogether too busy with active industry and thriving commerce to listen any longer to the prophet of evil. [Applause.] We are engaged now in looking after ourselves and in taking care of ourselves; and we have discovered that the best statesmanship for America is that which looks to the highest interests of American labor and the highest development of American resources. [Great applause.]

The people of this country are not only prosperous, but they are patriotic. No State in the Union was more prompt to answer the call of country than yours. The whole Union, North and South, quickly responded to the call to arms, and when peace came were as quick to enter the paths of peace. [Applause.]

I thank you most heartily. I thank the school-girls and the school-boys. I thank you all for this demonstration, not for me, but for the country and the flag. [Long-continued and enthusiastic applause.]

CLVIII.

Speech at Duluth, Minnesota October 13, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

My welcome to Duluth has been unique and most gracious—greeted at the station by the people of your city and vicinity, escorted by my comrades of the Civil War on the right and the left, led by the young soldiers of the Spanish War, and then the final crowning consummation of it all, the welcome of the school-children of the city of Duluth around and about the beautiful temple of learning, open to all, rich and poor alike. [Great applause.]

All that we have seen about us this morning typifies

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and illustrates the government of the United States. It rests in the hearts and consciences of the people. It is defended, whenever it is assailed, by its citizen soldiery; and it furnishes education free to all the young, that they may take upon themselves the great trust of carrying forward, without abatement of vigor, this fabric of government. [Enthusiastic applause.] No picture more beautiful was ever presented to human vision than the one we see before us to-day. [Continued applause.] The schools of our country lie at the very foundation of our institutions. They are the very citadel of our power. They constitute the corner-stone of our safety and security. Every boy and every girl in the United States can have an education without money and without price. They can have an education that equips them for every duty of life; and I want to tell you, young people, while you have an opportunity draw deeply from this fountain of learning, for when you get older there is less time for the pursuit of knowledge in our busy, rushing life. Fill your minds with useful knowledge; and I see you are filling your hearts brimful of patriotism as you hold the flag of your country in your hands. [Enthusiastic applause.]

Side by side with education must be character. Do not forget that. There is nothing in this world that lasts so long or wears so well as good character; and it is something everybody can have. It is just as easy to get into the habit of doing good as it is to get into the habit of doing evil. With education and integrity every avenue of honor, every door of usefulness, every pathway of fame and favor are open to all of you.

I thank you more than I can find words to express 18

for this warm, generous, heartfelt welcome—not to me, not to the Chief Executive of the nation, but to the nation itself as embodying your love, your faith and purpose. [Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.]

CLIX.

REMARKS AT AITKIN, MINNESOTA, OCTOBER 13, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I esteem it a very great honor to meet the people of the country whom by their suffrages I am permitted to serve. I count it of very great value to the public servant to meet with the people; for the people have but one public aim, and that is high and noble. What you all want, no matter what may be your party alinements-what you all want for your country is the greatest good for the greatest number. I never meet the people face to face without gaining from them inspiration for duty. Your cheerful faces, kind greetings, and generous words give me encouragement for the great responsibilities which you, two years and a half ago, placed upon me. I assure you that I have but one aim, and that is to serve you faithfully, and help to maintain the honor and integrity of the government, which dispenses the blessings of our free institutions equally to all the people. [Great applause.]

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CLX.

Speech at Brainerd, Minnesota, October 13, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

To this welcome from my fellow-citizens of Minnesota I cannot fittingly respond.

Our government emanates from the people, whether it be the government of the nation, the State, the county, the township, or the village. All power comes from the people, and all public officers must bear their commissions as administrators of their affairs. Back of the governments to which I have referred is the home, which is the ideal government after all,-the family, bound together by ties of common interest and affection. -the American home, the school-house for the education of American boys and girls in the duties of citizenship. And from this home, which lies at the foundation of our public institutions, the governments draw their virtue and integrity. The education that comes from the home touches all our lives and stays with us as long as we live. There is not a man anywhere in our country who, remembering the affectionate counsels of his mother, has not been helped in resisting wrong and adhering to right. [Great applause.] It is that American home, where love is found and virtue presides, that is the hope of our republic.

And after that are the schools of the country. They educate men for citizenship and for statesmanship; and this country is safe so long as we preserve the honor and integrity of the home and continue public education in nation and in State. It is from these homes and schools that the brave boys went out from Minnesota in the Civil War [applause], and again in the Spanish War, responding with an alacrity unprecedented to the call of country to fight its battles and uphold its honor. One of the greatest pleasures of my life, my countrymen, was yesterday to welcome in the city of Minneapolis the Thirteenth Minnesota, that had been for many months in the Philippines carrying the standard of the Union, which they left there, without stain, in other hands. [Great applause.]

Wherever the flag goes, there go education and civilization. [Enthusiastic applause.]

CLXI.

REMARKS AT STAPLES, MINNESOTA, OCTOBER 13, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It has given me very great pleasure, in traveling through your State, to be welcomed, as I have been at every hand, by the warm hearts of your people, and to observe your progress and prosperity. You became a part of the Federal Union as a State in 1858, forty-one years ago. You have not only added to the wealth and progress and prosperity of the nation in peace, but you have contributed your share to bring honor and glory to the nation in war. You furnished your full quota in 1861, when you were but three years old as a State ; and when the Spanish War came, this State furnished more than its quota, sending to the front fifty-five hundred of the best young men from your homes and communities. Wherever they were, whether in the field during the Civil War, or in Luzon, they always upheld the flag. The Thirteenth Minnesota has come back to you, bringing added laurels to the State. The flag of our country that floats over the Philippines floats in honor for liberty and humanity and for the American name. [Great applause.]

CLXII.

Speech at Wadena, Minnesota, October 13, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

/ The people of this country, differing from many countries in the world, are masterful in administration and legislation. They change policies and administrations. They make and unmake Presidents and Congresses and legislatures; and nothing is ever permanently settled, so far as the governmental policy is concerned, until it is settled in the consciences of the people and by their enlightened judgment.

Mr. Lincoln was in the habit of saying that the safest tribunal on earth was the people; and at one of the most critical periods of our Civil War he uttered these great words: "If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people." And so all policies and all purposes of President or Congress must finally be submitted to the people, and their judgment, when constitutionally rendered, is the law of the land. It is therefore a great power that the people possess, and that power is used after the most careful investigation and consideration of great public questions, and has ever been for the right.

We are in the Philippines. Our flag is there, and our flag is never raised anywhere for oppression. [Great applause.] It floats for liberty wherever it is raised. [Great applause.] And wherever it is assaulted in the hands of the men who wear the uniform of the United States, that moment the whole nation rises to its defense. [Enthusiastic and long-continued applause.]

CLXIII.

REMARKS AT DETROIT CITY, MINNESOTA, October 13, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

Of the many receptions we have had, as we have journeyed through your State and other States, none has been more hearty or more cheering or assuring than the welcome you give us here to-night. All these receptions have been public ones,—the people themselves, the old, the young, the boys and the girls of the schools,—and I assure you that they have cheered my heart and given me strength for the great responsibilities resting upon me. [Great applause.]

CLXIV.

Speech at Fargo, North Dakota, October 13, 1899.

Mr. Mayor, Senator Hansbrough, Members of the First North Dakota Volunteers, and my Fellow-Citizens :

The last eighteen months have borne impressive testimony of the patriotism of the American people. The call for two hundred thousand troops was promptly responded to by the people of the United States, without respect to party, creed, section, or nationality. [Great applause. Cries of "Good!"] The alacrity of enlistment and the eelerity of execution have few if any parallels in the military annals of the world. [Applause.] We did not go to war until every effort at peace was exhausted, and when war came we all thought the sooner it was ended the better for all concerned. [Applause.]

I have come here to-night, traveling a long distance, that I might meet the people of this new and growing State—a State which I had the honor, as a member of the national House of Representatives, to vote to admit as a sister into the national family. [Great applause. A voice, "You're not ashamed of it, are you?"] On the contrary, I am proud of it [applause], and prouder than ever for the vote I gave for her admission. [Applause.] I come also to speak of the patriotism of the State of North Dakota; not only of the patriotism of the men who served in the Philippines, but of those brave soldiers of your State who, less fortunate than the Manila volunteers, were not able to have fighting service in the field. They did their duty, as you did vours; and so, too, all the volunteers throughout the United States, all of them eager to go to the front and do battle with the enemy, like you who met the enemy, have won the lasting gratitude of the American people. [Great applause.] I have come especially that I might look into the faces of the North Dakota volunteers [continued applausel-the two battalions who saw service on the battle-line in Luzon. I came that I might speak to them the welcome and the "Well done." You did vour duty and you filled my heart with joy [applause] when you, with the other volunteers and regulars of the Eighth Corps, sent me word as President that you would remain at the battle-front in Luzon until a new army could be created to take your place. [Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.] You refused to beat retreat or strike your colors in the presence of the enemy [great applausel, no matter who advised you to come home. You said, "We will stay and keep the flag stainless in the presence of the enemy." [Great applause.] And, my fellow-citizens, no soldier ever had a more delicate or trying duty. This army, of which this fragment from your State formed a part, remained in Luzon, waiting, first for the treaty of peace which was being negotiated in Paris, then for its ratification by the Senate of the United States, then until the exchange of ratifications between the United States and Spainwaiting through all that long period, accepting the insolence of the insurgents with a patient dignity which characterized the American soldiers, who were under the orders of the Executive that they must not strike a blow, pending the treaty of peace, except in defense. [Great applause.] I say they bore these taunts with a patience sublime. We never dreamed that the little body of insurgents whom we had just emancipated from oppression—we never for a moment believed that they would turn upon the flag that had sheltered them against Spain. [Great applause.] So our soldiers patiently bore, through the long months, the insults of that band of misguided men under the orders of an ambitious leader. Then the insurgent chief ordered an attack upon our line, and our boys made gallant defense. [Enthusiastic applause.] But I want to do them the credit to say, here in the presence of their neighbors and their friends, their fathers and their mothers, that they forbore all things rather than disobey an order from the government they were serving. [Cries of "Good!" and great applause.]

The leader of the insurgent forces says to the American government, "You can have peace if you will give us independence." Peace for independence, he says. He had another price than that for peace once before [laughter], but the United States pays no gold for peace. [Enthusiastic applause.] We never gave a bribe in all our history, and we will not now commence to do it. [Great applause.] Our flag is there. [Applause.] Soldiers of North Dakota, you left it there in the hands of those who took your places, without blot and with honor. [Applause.] Wherever that standard is raised, whether in the western or in the eastern hemisphere, it stands for liberty, civilization, and humanity. [Long-continued applause.]

But I have already talked too long. [General cry of "Go on!"] This nation for nearly a century has not compromised liberty [a voice, "No, sir; and never will!"]; and Abraham Lincoln [applause] spoke in 1863 the proclamation of liberty to all men beneath our flag in the United States [applause]; and at Appomattox Court-House Grant made that paper proclamation a living fact. [Applause.] Our flag stands for liberty wherever it floats; and we propose to put sixty-five thousand men behind that flag in Luzon [applause], to maintain the authority of the United States and uphold the sovereignty of the republic in the interest of civilization and humanity. [Applause.] We accept the responsibility of duty at whatever cost it imposes. [Long-continued applause.]

CLXV.

Speech at Wahpeton, North Dakota, October 13, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens:

I have had great pleasure in passing through your State to-day—the first visit which I have ever made to this new commonwealth. It is one of the newest of the Federal Union. I have been impressed with the patriotism of your people, and also with the prosperity and the good feeling which we found on every hand. Admitted as a State only ten years ago, you have made almost marvelous progress in population and development. Your population, I am sure, has doubled in the last ten years, while the products of your fields in a single year have mounted as high as thirty millions of dollars. These vast products have gone from your rich fields, and in turn there have come back thirty millions of dollars in gold, to enrich the producer and pay the wages of labor. I am glad to note that the voice of despair is no longer heard in North Dakota, and the prophet of evil no longer commands confidence, because he has been proved to be a false prophet. Your mortgages are diminishing and your markets are increasing. The hum of industry gladdens the heart, and the hammer of the sheriff at public sales is less frequently heard in the home. We are a great country, and you are one of the great States of this great Union.

It was my pleasure to-day to welcome back to your State, in behalf of the nation, the gallant boys of the First Dakota, who did such splendid service in Luzon. [Great applause.] Your city furnished one of the companies. They have made not only a splendid record for themselves, but they have added a new and glorious page to American history, and great honor to American arms. I doubt if there is a man, woman, or child in the State of North Dakota who is not proud of that regiment, and prouder still that they remained on the firing-line when there were many people who wanted them to come home. [Enthusiastic applause.] If there is anything in this world we like it is courage and heroism; and if there is anything that an American boy will never do, it is to desert his colors when his country is in peril. [Great applause.] The truth about it is, the soldiers of the Spanish War are, for the most part, the sons of the veterans of the Civil War, and the patriotism, pluck, vim, and vigor shown by your boys in Luzon were only what we found in that Grand Army of the Republic from 1861 to 1865. [Applause.]

I thank you, my fellow-citizens, for this greeting. It has been especially gratifying to me to meet the neighbors and friends and fellow-citizens of your United States Senator [Senator McCumber] at his home. [Long-continued applause.]

CLXVI.

SPEECH AT ABERDEEN, SOUTH DAKOTA, OCTOBER 14, 1899.

Mr. Mayor, Members of the First South Dakota Volunteers, and my Fellow-Citizens :

It gives me very great pleasure to join with your fellow-citizens of the State of South Dakota, your friends, your families and neighbors, in this welcome to your home. We are not a nation of hero-worshipers, and yet we are a nation of seventy-five millions of grateful people who love valor and reward the heroic deeds of our soldiers and sailors on land and sea.

I think I appreciate quite as much as, if not more than, most of my fellow-citizens the value of the services this regiment, with its associates of the Eighth Corps, rendered the country in its hour of great emergency. [Enthusiastic applause.] And I am here to speak, not for myself alone, but for the American people, in expression of gratitude and thanks for your heroic action in the island of Luzon. [Applause.] This morning a despatch from your commander, the major-general commanding in the Philippines, through the Secretary of War, tells me of the gallantry of Colonel Frost and his First Regiment [great applause], tells me that from early in February until late in June they stood on the firingline, and no enemy could withstand their resistless courage and gallantry [continued applause]. Nor do I forget, soldiers of the republic, soldiers of the First South Dakota, that when the treaty of peace was ratified and the exchange of ratifications was completed with Spain, every one of you was entitled to be mustered out of the service of the United States. [Applause.] And I can never express to you the cheer you gave my heart when you sent word that you would remain until a new army could be formed to take your places. [Enthusiastic and long-continued applause.] The members of the First South Dakota and their comrades furnished an example of personal sacrifice and public consecration rarely known in the annals of history. [Applause.] But it is just like the American soldier, no matter where he comes from. He never lays down his arms in the presence of an enemy [great applause], and never falters, never lowers the flag of his country, nor leaves the field till victory comes [continued enthusiastic applause].

I am glad to see the veterans of 1861 welcome the veterans of 1898. [Applause.] It is the same kind of patriotism. You got it from your fathers; and it is a patriotism that never deserts and never encourages desertion. [Applause.]

But, my fellow-citizens and members of the First South Dakota, you have just got home, and I know you want to join those you love, and I shall not detain you a moment longer, except to say to you that I thank you for your uncomplaining services to our beloved country; I thank you for standing faithful and unfaltering on the battle-line; I thank you for preserving the flag stainless; I thank you for waiting in the trenches until the relief came; and I thank you for having transferred the banner of freedom to those who succeed you, spotless and with honor. [Great applause.] And where that flag is, it stands for liberty, humanity, and civilization. [Long-continued applause.]

CLXVII.

Speech at Redfield, South Dakota, October 14, 1899.

My Fellow-Oitizens :

In all that relates to the government of the United States we have a common interest and a common pride. We are all deeply interested in the administration of the government, that it shall be honest and just and equal. We are interested in the progress and prosperity of the country and the well-being and advancement of the people. We have been greatly blessed as a government and a people. We are rich in all material things. Your own State is blessed with soil and mines of rare value. Your population is increasing, and in a single year you sent out your products valued at nearly one hundred millions of dollars. Your population is about four hundred thousand. You raise more than you consume. You send your surplus products from the field of production to the field of consumption, and there comes flowing back to you in return money for your labor and your investment.

We are also interested in our public schools, in our colleges, and in our universities. This pioneer State has a great many colleges and universities. You have, I am told, a college here. The school-house goes with the pioneer. The family, then the school-house; and out of the school-house come those who finally become the citizens who are to carry forward this great work of government. Then we are interested in the honor of the country. The American name up to this hour has never had any taint put upon it, and I trust and believe it never will have. [Great applause.] We have never lacked soldiers to defend any cause in which the country has been engaged, from the days of 1776 down to the present hour. [Great applause.]

We have been adding some territory to the United The little folks will have to get a new geog-States. raphy. [Laughter and applause.] We have a good deal more territory in the United States than when we were boys, and we have acquired some within the last eighteen months. [Great applause.] We have not only been adding territory to the United States, but we have been adding character and prestige to the American name. [Continued applause.] We have planted our flag in Porto Rico, in Hawaii, and in the Philippines. We planted it there because we had a right to do so. [Applause.] We had a war with Spain. Every effort for peace was used before war was finally declared by the Congress of the United States, but when war was declared there was but one thing for the American people to do, and that was to destroy the Spanish sea-power wherever we could find it [great applause]: and so Dewey was sent to Manila [continued applause], and we told him to go there, commence operations, find the Spanish fleet, and capture or destroy it. [Great applause.] He did it! [Applause.] He found and he destroyed it, and when he had done that we had the responsibility of the Philippines, which we could not evade. And there has never been a moment of time, my countrymen, when we could have left Manila Bay or Manila harbor or the archipelago of the Philippines without dishonor to our name. [Great applause.] We did not go there to conquer the Philippines. We went there to destroy the Spanish fleet, that we might end the war; but in the providence of God, who works in mysterious ways, this great archipelago was put into our lap, and the American people never shirk duty. And the flag now there is not the flag of tyranny—it is the flag of liberty [applause]; and wherever the flag goes there go character, education, American intelligence, American civilization, and American liberty. [Great applause.]

CLXVIII.

Speech at Huron, South Dakota, October 14, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I bring my heartfelt salutation to this one of the younger sisters of our Federal Union. I may be pardoned if I express more than a common interest in your welfare and advancement. It was my good fortune to be a member of the national House of Representatives during all the years you were struggling for admission as a State; and it was my very great privilege in 1889 to give my vote to help make you one of the stars in our national constellation. [Great applause.] I can testify to the perseverance of this people to get into the Union. I not only bring salutations, but congratulations.

You have made wonderful progress. You have been enjoying in the last twenty-four months an unexampled prosperity. Good crops and fair prices have lifted the mortgage and lowered the interest; and while the in-

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terest has been lowered to the borrower, the standard of the money loaned has not been lowered. [Great applause.] You not only have rich material resources, but you have what every American pioneer population has—school-houses and churches. They go with the pioneer wherever he goes, and the pioneer, made of the very best possible fiber, always takes the flag with him. [Great applause. A voice, "Keep the old flag where it is!"]

My fellow-citizens, I came here to make acknowledgment to the people of this State for their patriotism. When you were a Territory you furnished battalions of gallant soldiers to fight in the great war for the preservation of the Union [applause], and my comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic are all about me here to-day. [Shout of "And we will stand by you !"] And when the Spanish War came, the sons of these veterans and the sons of these settlers sprang to arms at once upon the call of country, and one regiment of your troops served most gallantly and uncomplainingly in the island of Luzon. [Great applause.] I had the extreme pleasure of joining in South Dakota's welcome to these brave men at Aberdeen this morning, and I want to tell you that they look like athletes [a voice. "We sent them out as such !"], and they came back as such, showing the generous care of the government of the United States. [Great applause.] It is given to the strong to bear the burdens of the weak; and our prayer should be, not that the burdens should be rolled away, but that God should give us strength to bear them. [Applause.] And the burdens which this war placed upon the American people unsought and unexpected-for nobody in the United States dreamed eigh-19

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teen months ago that the Philippine archipelago would become territory of the United States-came not to us of our seeking, but as one of the inevitable and unescapable results of that war. When Dewey went into Manila Bay under orders and destroyed the Spanish fleet, from that hour we were responsible for the peace of the Philippine Islands [enthusiastic and long-continued applause]. and from that hour we could not escape with honor to ourselves, nor could we escape from our obligations to the nations of the world. [Applause.] And your boys stayed [applause], although there were some people who wanted them to come home. [Laughter and applause.] I am proud of them, and so are you. [General cry of "We are!"] There is not a man, woman, or child in this glorious new State, there is not a family in your commonwealth, who is not delighted that the soldiers of the First South Dakota refused to accept the advice of the unpatriotic and stayed and upheld the flag. [Great applause.] They did not come home until they had placed that flag stainless and spotless in the hands of the new army we sent; and we will send enough of them to carry that flag to ultimate victory. [Great and long-continued applause.]

CLXIX.

Speech at Lake Preston, South Dakota, October 14, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

Patriotism is an all-conquering sentiment in the American heart. It triumphs over mere politics, and the politics which has no patriotism in it is always defeated before the tribunal of the American people. If the patriot, for any good reason, does not go to war himself, he always supports the soldier who does, and shelters and cares for his family while the head of it is at the front. [Applause.] If, for any reason, a good eitizen gets into the ranks of the enemy by an accident, he lives only to regret it, and his children live only to erase the blot from the family name. [Applause.]

The patriotic people of this country are awaiting the return of Company E of the First South Dakota. [Great applause.] I saw the glorious boys myself to-day. [Continued applause.] I was proud of them, and you will be proud of them when they come to you to-night. [Great applause.] They did splendid service for their country. They unfalteringly sustained the flag and refused to come home [great applause]—refused to lay down their arms until the government they were serving could supply a new army in their places to lift up and carry forward that sacred banner. [Enthusiastic and long-continued applause.]

CLXX.

Speech at Madison, South Dakota, October 14, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I have great pleasure in meeting the citizens of southeastern Dakota, and I feel constrained to congratulate you upon the evidences of prosperity which I have wit-

nessed as I have traveled through your State. I feel. too, like congratulating you upon the general prosperous condition of the country. Your government is doing well. There are no deficits in the Treasury. There is a good round balance of more than two hundred and fifty millions of gold in the Treasury belonging to the government; and we are collecting one million six hundred thousand dollars every workingday of every month. Last year, when Congress voted that we should go to war, we borrowed two hundred millions of dollars. We offered the bonds to the people, and there were fourteen hundred million dollars subscribed when there were only two hundred millions [Great applause.] Not only, my fellow-citineeded. zens, is the business of the government prosperous, but the enterprises of the people are also prosperous. Fear has given place to confidence. Consternation and despair have given place to faith and courage, the voice of calamity is no longer heard in the land, and the orator of distress and discontent is out of a job. [Great applause.]

The people are employed and happy. They are proud of their institutions and of the love for country displayed in the last eighteen months. When the eall for two hundred thousand troops was issued, more than a million and a half of men offered themselves, eager and ready to go to fight the battle for humanity and maintain the public honor. [Great applause.] And some of your boys are coming back here to-night. [Enthusiastic applause.] I feel like apologizing to the fathers and mothers for the privilege which I enjoyed of seeing them first. The proudest, the most cherished, the most glorious reflection they have is that they did not come home until their places had been supplied with new troops. [Long-continued applause.]

CLXXI.

SPEECH AT EGAN, SOUTH DAKOTA, OCTOBER 14, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

We, as a people, never go to war because we love war. Our chief glory is not in the triumphs of arms, but in the triumphs of peace. We love peace; we abhor war. We have the smallest standing army of any large nation in the world. With a population of more than seventy-five millions, the regular army of the United States, on a peace footing, consists of twentyeight thousand troops. On the national shield, which these boys and girls know all about, are to be found the olive-branch and the arrows, indicating our power in war and our love of peace; but be it said, to the glory of the American nation, that we never have drawn the arrows from their quiver until we have tendered to our adversary the olive-branch of peace. [Great applause.] And we are at peace now with all the nations of the world. We have an insurrection in the Philippines, which, I trust, will be very promptly suppressed. [Great applause.

Your boys have done their duty in suppressing it [great applause], and I know you are impatient to bid them welcome to their families and their homes. [Long-continued applause.]

CLXXII.

Speech at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, October 14, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

We very deeply regret that we were not able to reach this city at the time appointed. The reason of our detention is the fact that the First South Dakota Volunteers came in late at Aberdeen. It is the only time in the history of that regiment that it was ever late. [Great applause.] It was never behind time in any of the more than thirty engagements which it had in the island of Luzon.

My fellow-citizens, when war is inaugurated it usually has a fixed and definite purpose. You can have a purpose at the beginning, but nobody can tell the end or scope. "Man proposes, but God disposes." The Civil War was waged for the purpose of saving the Union. There was no thought on the part of Mr. Lincoln or his Cabinet or of Congress what would be accomplished in its final result. Mr. Lincoln was in the habit of saving that he would save the Union with slavery or he would save it without slavery, he would save it half slave and half free, only so that he could save it, for he had an oath registered in heaven to preserve the Union. [Great applause.] He could not save it with slavery. and so he issued his immortal proclamation of liberty. That was not the purpose of Congress, for the Congress of 1861 had voted by an almost unanimous vote that the war should cease when the Union was restored, with all the rights, dignities, and privileges of the old States undisturbed.

So, my fellow-citizens, when the war with Spain commenced,-commenced in the interest of humanity, commenced to relieve the Cuban people of that oppression under which they had suffered for long years,-nobody at that moment had any thought either of Porto Rico or the Philippines. We went to war with Spain in the interest of humanity and civilization, and to give justice to the oppressed people of Cuba. When war was declared we put our ships in front of the harbors of Havana and Santiago. We sent Dewey's ships from Hongkong to Manila, directing him to destroy or capture the Spanish fleet in those waters, and he did it. [Enthusiastic applause.] And our fleet in front of Santiago sunk the Spanish ships in that water. And when Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay he was master of the situation; but he could not come away without dishonor, if he had been disposed to do so, which he was not. [Great applause.] The responsibility for peace and good order and the protection of life and property came to the American people from that hour. When the treaty of peace, by which Spain ceded to us the entire archipelago was ratified by more than two thirds of the Senate of the United States, from that hour it became the territory of the United States. [Great applause.] And when it became our territory there was but one authority and but one sovereignty that could be recognized, and that was the United States. [Great applause.] It became our duty to establish our authority. A portion of one tribe, representing the smallest fraction of the entire population of the islands, resisted American authority. The very men we had emancipated from slavery and oppression were the first to make an attack upon the army of the United States; and when they assaulted our flag in the hands of the soldiers of the United States, they assaulted the sovereignty and the power of the government. [Great applause.] And when that is assailed there is never any division among the American people. [Enthusiastie applause.] They are for the flag wherever it floats, and they stand behind the men who earry it on land or on sea. [Continued applause.]

I received the other day a letter from a most distinguished officer now engaged in active duty in the Philippines. It is dated Manila, August 29, 1899, and I want to read one or two extracts from it:

I am confident that, if we should withdraw our army now, Aguinaldo could not hold himself in power without carrying on warfare against other tribes, and this would cause a constant warfare and turmoil for years. Of course there would be looting of eities and seizing and destruction of property, and the business people and property-holders would apply to some strong government to restore order. For us to withdraw our army now would be criminal, and for such an action we would be arraigned and denounced by the civilized nations of the earth.

I believe that when it is fully understood that our supremacy is to be maintained in these islands, there will be an influx of population from the United States and other countries. There is no question as to the richness of the soil and the abundance and richness of gold-, copper-, and coal-mines.

It is true that heretofore they have not paid, but it is because they have not been properly managed.

The receipts of this port from customs [it is the port of Manila] are averaging \$600,000 per month. This, with the internal revenue, I believe, would in ordinary times pay the entire expenses of the government.

An idea seems to be prevalent in the United States that this is an unhealthy country, and that white men cannot live here. This is a great mistake. There is also an impression that to retain these islands would be a burden to our country. That these views are errors should be impressed upon the American people.

You may ask, my fellow-eitizens, who is the author of this letter. I answer you that it is from a gallant soldier, a great eavalry leader of the Confederate army, one of the heroes of Santiago in our recent war, and for eighteen years a member of Congress from the State of Alabama—the gallant and intrepid Joe Wheeler. [Enthusiastic applause.]

We intend to put down that rebellion [great applause], just as we would put down any rebellion anywhere against the sovereignty of the United States [continued applause]. Our flag is there. Your boys bore it, bore it heroically, bore it nobly, and stayed with it when they could have been mustered out; but they said, "We will stay until our places can be filled with new soldiers, and will never desert our colors." [Great applause.]

I make public acknowledgment everywhere for this personal sacrifice and heroic action. That flag is there, not as the symbol of oppression, not as the flag of tyranny; but it is there, as it is everywhere, the symbol of liberty, civilization, hope, and humanity. [Tremendous and long-continued applause.]

CLXXIII.

Speech at Yankton, South Dakota, October 14, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I have very great pleasure in meeting my countrymen of South Dakota here at the old capital of the Territory of Dakota. A wave of patriotism has been moving throughout the country for the past two years, and the swell has struck South Dakota to-day. [Applause.] The soldiers from Manila are coming home. They are in your beloved State to-night. I met them this morning at Aberdeen. They are coming back in health, as sturdy and splendid a body of young men as I ever They are coming back not only with looked upon. health, but with honor. They stood by the country we all love so much, and have earned the gratitude of the government they have served so well. [Great applause.] We cannot have too much patriotism in a country like ours, that rests upon the people and all the people alike; and so long as we have with patriotism the virtue and vigilance of the citizen, so long will our free institutions be safe and secure. The American people can always be trusted. If in the passion of the hour they commit a mistake, they are prompt to correct it. The people choose the rnlers-their legislatures of States and the Congress of the United States and the Chief Executive of the United States: and if, in an hour of unrest or discontent or dissatisfaction, they elect rulers or legislators or congressmen who do not serve the best purpose of government, they are prompt to supersede them with agents who do. [Great applause.]

The people, my fellow-citizens, always reserve to themselves the right of appeal from themselves after more deliberate judgment, after more conscientious investigation; they appeal from themselves to themselves, and not infrequently reverse former decisions.

I am glad to meet the people of this new and promising State. Every step of our journey, as we have passed through this commonwealth, has been one of warm and hearty and generous greeting from all the people [great applause]; not from party, not from members of one creed or another, not from the nativeborn or the naturalized, but from all I have felt the touch of warm hearts and the glow of gracious greetings; and I stop only long enough to say how profoundly impressed I have been with your State-not with its material interests alone, not with its lands or its mines, but with the men and the women. I have looked into their faces, and have felt that there was a great future for this commonwealth in such hands, and for the whole nation. You are just like the other members of our great family, for you have come from all the States; and those who have come from outside have brought their best conscience and best judgment to help us build up this country.

One thing more, my countrymen. Whatever else this war has done, there is a result for which we should all offer thanksgiving and praise—it has unified every section. [Great applause.] We now, almost for the first time in our history, know no North, no South, no East, no West, but are all for a common country. [Long-continued applause.]

CLXXIV.

REMARKS AT VERMILION, SOUTH DAKOTA, OCTOBER 14, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

This is a very loyal and devoted people, that would remain up until this late hour of the night to give greeting to the Chief Executive of the nation. I do not misinterpret this welcome. I am sure it is not meant for me as an individual, but meant as your expression of devotion and affection for the government of the United States. I can only, in the moment, detain you long enough to say that we have a government that is worthy of our best love and affection, and if it does not continue to serve us and our highest and best interests, it will be our own fault, for our government is just what we make it. And I pray that the virtue of the citizen will be so high and his aims so noble that nothing ill can ever befall this republic, and nothing ever impair its usefulness and glory. [Great applause.]

CLXXV.

REMARKS AT ELK POINT, SOUTH DAKOTA, OCTOBER 14, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

Only a warm-hearted people, deeply interested in their government and attached to it, would have remained standing until midnight to give welcome to the President of the United States. I leave the State of South Dakota regretfully, for during all the day of my journey I have been met at every point with the same warm greeting which you have given me here to-night. I leave behind me only thanks and gratitude to all the people, and my best wishes for their prosperity in their vocations and for contentment and joy in all their homes. [Great applause.]

CLXXVI.

REMARKS AT THE WHITFIELD METHODIST EPISCOPAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL, SIOUX CITY, IOWA, OCTOBER 15, 1899.

My Friends :

I have only, in the moment I shall tarry, to say to this group of young people and older people, hail and farewell. I wish for all of them the realization of all that is noble in life and character under a government of high privilege and great opportunity.

CLXXVII.

Speech at Iowa Falls, Iowa, October 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It is a great advantage to meet the people early in the morning. [Laughter.] It gives me genuine pleasure to meet and greet my fellow-citizens of Iowa, to look into their faces, and to feel the stimulus of their presence, and the encouragement which I always receive as I mingle with them. Since I was last in the State we have added some new territory. It is no longer a question of expansion with us; we have expanded. [Laughter and great applause.] If there is any question at all it is a question of contraction; and who is going to contract? [Applause.] I believe, my fellow-citizens, that this territory came to us in the providence of God. We did not seek it. [Applause.] It is ours, with all the responsibilities that belong to it; and as a great, strong, brave nation we mean to meet these responsibilities [applause], and we mean to carry our education and our civilization there. I am not one of those who would take a laurel from the brow of the American soldier or a jewel from the crown of American achievement. [Great applause.]

CLXXVIII.

Speech at Ackley, Iowa, October 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens:

I recall my former visit to this people, I believe, five years ago. I congratulate you all upon the improved condition of the country. When I was here last, we were in a condition of business depression. Times were hard. Fear had overcome courage. Now all is changed. We have general prosperity—good crops and fair prices, steady employment and good wages, and we have a happy and contented people.

Not only are the people prosperous, but the nation itself is doing well. Our revenues are abundant. All over the country interest has fallen, mortgages have been lifted, and markets have been extended. We are using more of our own products than we ever did before. We are importing fewer products than we have done in many years, and we are sending more of American products abroad than we ever sent before. We are on a gold basis, and we mean to stay there. [General cry of "Good!"]

I like the sentiment that spans your platform here: "Sustain the nation's flag." [Applause.] That is what we are doing in the Philippines to-day, and that is what we will continue to do until we conquer the rebellion against the sovereignty and authority of the United States. [Great applause.] We mean to sustain the boys in blue who are carrying that flag; and whether in the Philippines or here in Iowa, it represents, not tyranny, but liberty and civilization, and stands for hope to mankind. [Cheers.]

CLXXIX.

Speech at Parkersburg, Iowa, October 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It is a peculiar pleasure to me to pass through the district of my old friend Colonel Henderson, and it is a great honor that comes to this district that your representative is to be the Speaker of the national House of Representatives.

The patriotism of the people for the last eighteen months has been sublime. When the call for troops was made, Iowa, like all the other States of the Union, responded promptly. More than a million soldiers were ready to do battle for the country under its call for only two hundred thousand troops. Iowa furnished her full share, and one of her regiments did gallant service in the distant islands of the Pacific. It did not ask to come home, although it had the privilege of muster out after the ratifications of the treaty of peace had been exchanged. That regiment remained there, to uphold the flag and sustain the authority of the government, until a new army could be created to go and take its place; and I desire to make public acknowledgment here in this presence and in this State for its exhibition of devotion to the flag and loyalty to the country. [Great applause.] We all love that flag. It gladdens the hearts of the old and the young, and it shelters us all. Wherever it is raised on land or on sea, at home or in our distant possessions, it always stands for liberty, for civilization, for humanity; and wherever it is assaulted, the whole nation rises up to defend it. [Long-continued applause.]

CLXXX.

SPEECH AT CEDAR FALLS, IOWA, OCTOBER 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

This is a very great pleasure, to meet the people of Cedar Falls and the professors and students of your great institution of learning.

We are a united people—united in interest, sentiment, purpose, and love of country as we have never been before. Sectionalism has disappeared. Old prejudices are but a faded memory. The orator of hate, like the orator of despair, has no hearing in any section of our country. On ship and on shore the men of the South and the men of the North have been fighting for the same flag and shedding their blood together for the honor of the country and the integrity of its institutions. Lawton and Wheeler in the Philippines are fighting side by side to-day. [Applause.] This is the Union we have now, and the North and the South are vying with each other in loyalty, and are marching side by side in the pathway of our destiny and the mission of liberty and humanity.

The cause of humanity has been triumphant, and that cause committed to our hands will not suffer. Wherever we have raised our flag, we have raised it, not for conquest, not for territorial aggrandizement, not for national gain, but for civilization and humanity. [Great applause.] And let those lower it who will! [Enthusiastic and long-continued applause.]

CLXXXI.

SPEECH AT WATERLOO, IOWA, OCTOBER 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

We have before us a great national problem. We have resting upon us a great national duty, growing out of our war with Spain. When that war commenced there was little or no division of sentiment among the people. Before the declaration of war the Congress of the United States, under the leadership of your distinguished Senator Allison, voted a national defense fund of fifty millions of dollars for the use of the government at its discretion. It was voted practically without division in either house of Congress.

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The senator assures me that it was done with absolute unanimity. When the war was declared the resolution was voted for by all parties from all sections. The revenue bill was passed with provisions for money to carry on the war; so that we started with all the people and all the representatives of the people standing together.

The war came, and was ended sooner than any similar war in all history; ended with the triumph of American arms; ended in a triumph for the cause of humanity. [Applause.] Having been united in bringing on the war, having been united in its conduct, having been practically united in the conclusions of peace, the question is, Shall we stand together until the work is finished? [General cry of "Yes!" Great applause.]

We have resting upon us the great responsibilities of government in Porto Rico and in the Philippines. Our flag has been assailed in those distant islands in the Pacific, and I ask the people of Iowa whether we shall not stand firmly and unitedly until American sovereignty shall be established in every island of the archipelago. [General cry of "Yes!" Applause.] We will not take down that flag, representing liberty to the people, representing civilization to those islands; we will not withdraw it, because the territory over which it floats is ours by every tenet of international law and by the sacred sanction of a treaty made in accordance with the Constitution of the United States. [Applause.] We are not there to oppress. We are there to liberate. We are not there to establish an imperial government; but we are there to establish a government of liberty under law, protection to life and property, and opportunity to all who dwell there. [Applause.]

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CLXXXII.

Speech at Independence, Iowa, October 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I thank your spokesman for his greeting in your behalf. Nothing but a deep interest in the country upon the part of the people would have assembled so many of you, on this inclement morning, to give welcome to the President of the country. And I do not mistake its meaning. It is not meant in compliment to me. It is in no sense personal, but it is expressive of your devotion to the country, your interest in its welfare, your anxiety that its honor shall be preserved everywhere upon land and sea. The people are thinking about just one thing now in this country. The thoughts of the citizens of the United States have not for a third of a century been so centered upon the government and its future-their government-as at this very hour. They rallied to its support when it went to war. They stood by the government until the treaty of peace was made. That treaty of peace, ratified by the Senate of the United States, approved of by a vote of Congress, gave to the United States the sovereignty and territory of the Philippine Islands. [Great applause.] That territory, my fellowcitizens, the President has no power to alienate if he was disposed to do so, which he is not. [Great applause.] The sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines cannot be given away by a President. That sovereignty belongs to the people; and so long as that territory is ours, and so long as our sovereignty is there by right,-not

by right of conquest only, but by right of solemn treaty, —the President of the United States has but one duty to perform, and that is to maintain and establish the authority of the United States in those islands. [Great applause. Cries of "Good!"] He could not do less and perform his duty. And our prayers are not only going out to the boys in the trenches, but more men and more means and more sinews of war will follow the boys at the front. [Great applause.]

And now, my fellow-citizens, having said this much, and only stopping long enough to thank the boys and the girls of the schools for the welcome which they have given me, carrying that glorious banner in their hands, which indicates that they have real affection for the flag in their hearts, I bid you all good morning. [Longcontinued applause.]

CLXXXIII.

Speech at Manchester, Iowa, October 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

We have had more than a hundred years of national existence. Those years have been blessed ones for liberty and civilization. No other peoples anywhere on the globe have enjoyed such marvelous prosperity and have made such gigantic progress as the people of the United States. When the fathers established this government the population was only a little more than a million in excess of the population of Iowa to-day. They started with three million nine hundred thousand, and you have two million and a half of people in your State. Our lines have indeed fallen in pleasant places. The ship of state has sailed uninterruptedly on its mission of liberty; and one thing that can be said of this nation, for which we should all give thanksgiving and praise, is that it never raised its arm against humanity, never struck a blow against liberty, never struck a blow except for civilization and mankind. [Applause.] And now that we are seventy-five millions of people I do not think we have lost our vigor, our virtue, our courage, our high purpose, or our patriotism. [Great applause.] We are just as strong for country as we ever were, and we are just as sensitive of national honor as our fathers were, and we are just as determined to keep unsullied the American name as those who created us a nation. [Great applause.]

This, my countrymen, is not a partizan government. While parties control administrations, in the presence of a great national peril or great national duty the people are united as one man for country; and the people's hearts to-day go out to the soldiers of the United States, who are doing battle for the country in the Philippines. [Applause.] Your hearts, your hopes, your prayers are with them; and if I am not mistaken, the American people do not propose, whatever may be the cost, to see our flag dishonored anywhere. [Enthusiastic applause.]

CLXXXIV.

SPEECH AT DUBUQUE, IOWA, OCTOBER 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

The welcome on the part of the citizens of this the second city of the State is cordially appreciated and will be long remembered and cherished. This is a year of sublime patriotism. From one end of your State to the other, in all the sections of the West through which we have traveled, we have heard but one music, that the music of the Union; but one song, that the hymn of the republic. [Great applause.] And we have seen but one flag, the flag of our fathers and ours [applause]; the flag of a happy, reunited, and never-to-be-severed nation [enthusiastic applause]—a flag that expresses the sacrifices which we are willing to make for it and what it represents anywhere and everywhere when assailed. [Great applause.]

I have come to-day, my fellow-citizens, not only to greet you all, but to make public acknowledgment in this great city of the patriotism of the people of Iowa. [Applause.] You not only served and sacrificed for the Union in the great Civil War, giving up many of the best young men of the State on the altar of country that the Union might be preserved, but in the war with Spain this State, almost the first of the Federal Union, answered to the call of the government. [Applause.] There was no halting and no hesitation; your full quota was filled immediately, and others were eager and anxious to enlist. All of your soldiers did not have service on the firing-line, but they did their whole duty. That they were not called to the field of active operations was because the war was too quickly closed. [Enthusiastic applause.] They were ready and anxious to go, and disappointed that they were not permitted to go. To them I want to say that, like the soldiers at the front, they have won the gratitude of the republic; for they did their whole duty, and that is all any soldier can do. [Great applause.]

You were fortunate, my fellow-citizens, inasmuch as we had to have trouble in the Philippines, that you could send one regiment to that distant island. And I want to say of them that they did even more than their duty. Possibly I ought not to say that; but they did even more than was required by their terms of enlistment. They had the privilege of muster out when the ratifications of the treaty of peace were exchanged. That was the end of their term, if they had sought to claim the privilege, but when offered to them they refused to accept it. [Great applause.] They said : "We will stay with the government. We will stay with the flag until you can make a new army to take our places." And they did it. [Enthusiastic applause.] All honor to the Iowa regiment in the Philippines, now with their faces turned homeward ! [Applause.] God grant them a safe arrival in their old State, among their own friends and families, at their own homes! [Applause.]

I never travel through this mighty West, a part of the Louisiana Purchase,—Iowa, part of Minnesota, and the Dakotas,—that I do not feel like offering my gratitude to Thomas Jefferson for his wisdom and foresight in acquiring this vast territory, to be peopled by men and women such as I have seen here and elsewhere in these four States. [Great applause.] You have carried civilization and education; you have built churches; you have made this the garden spot of the country; and you have added new strength and honor to the nation.

And now, my fellow-citizens, having said this much, and with only a moment to tarry, I want simply to say one other thing, and that is that our flag in the Philippines still waves there [enthusiastic applause], and it waves not as the banner of imperialism, it waves not as the symbol of oppression, but it waves as it waves here and everywhere, the flag of freedom, of hope, of home of civilization. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

CLXXXV.

SPEECH AT GALENA, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I recall with pleasure my former visit to this city, when some years ago I came to speak at the dedication of the monument to that great soldier and lover of peace, General Ulysses S. Grant. He has set us an example both in war and in peace. In war unconditional surrender was his requirement; and after the war his constant and most fervent prayer was for the unification of the States and the peace of his country.

We are having some trouble over in the Philippines, and, remembering Grant's requirement of unconditional surrender, hostilities will cease when those who commenced the war upon our flag shall cease to fire at our troops and acknowledge American authority. [Enthusiastic applause.] On his second proposition there has been complete and perfect reconciliation between the sections. There is no North and no South, except as mere geographic divisions. They no longer suggest the long bloody war through which the country passed. All sections are united, and passion, hate, and prejudice have totally disappeared; and we thank God for it. [Applause.] We are now a united country, and we are united for the right; we are united for liberty; we are united for civilization; we are united for humanity. And being thus united, we are invincible. [Great applause.]

CLXXXVI.

Speech at Ipswich, Wisconsin, October 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It is a very great pleasure to meet you and to be presented by your distinguished representative in Congress [Representative Cooper].

Our nation is one of great benevolence and of great blessings. We not only care for the great interests of the government in our foreign relations, but we spend millions upon public education; millions more are spent by the people for churches; still more millions are spent by the States for the care of the unfortunate of our population. The orphans' homes, the industrial homes, the homes for the aged, the homes for disabled veterans who have served their country, all attest the benevolence of the American nation and the American people. Not only are we a nation of benevolence, but we are a nation that is helpful to our people—helpful to all the people. Every boy and girl can have a good education—one that will equip them for every duty and occupation of life. Not only are they thus educated by the State and the nation, but when once educated they have open to them, and to every one of them, the highest opportunities for advancement. They are not prevented because they are poor from aspiring to the highest places in the gift of the government. We have no classes. No matter what their creed, their party, no matter what may be their condition, no matter about their race or their nationality, they all have an equal opportunity to secure private and public positions of honor and profit.

My fellow-citizens, a government like ours is worth preserving in all its vigor and its integrity. And as I look into your faces, and as I think of our American homes and American schools, I feel that our sacred institutions are safe in their keeping. [Great applause.]

CLXXXVII.

Speech at Dodgeville, Wisconsin, October 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

We have everything to be thankful for. Our credit as a nation never was better, while the credit of the individual citizen has improved. Our money never was more abundant; every dollar of it is as good as gold in every market-place of the world. [Applause.] Our bonds at three per cent. interest could easily have been sold at a premium when they were offered to the people, but the law prohibited it. But no sooner had they passed into the possession of the people than they at once advanced in price. There is no fear of the ability of the government to meet every one of its obligations. The greenbacks no longer seek the Treasury to drain it of gold. The people want the greenbacks and prefer them to gold. The endless chain has been broken, and endless confidence in the government has set in. [Applause.]

Not only is this country strong and rich and prosperous in its material things, but it is mighty in its intelligence, virtue, and patriotism. [Applause.] We have fought a war since I last met you-a war, not for territory, not for gain, not for glory, but for humanity. [Great applause.] And the war was stopped sooner than anybody expected it would be. We sunk the encmy's ships at Manila, and we sunk their ships at Santiago: and we took the surrender of all their troops in the West Indies, and subsequently of all their troops in the Philippines. [Applause.] And the islands are ours! [Enthusiastic applause. A voice, "We want to keep them, Mr. President!"] The voice of the people in this country is the law of the land. [Great applause.] Our flag is in the Philippines, and our brave boys are carrying it in honor, and the government of the United States will stand behind them. [Long-continued applause.]

CLXXXVIII.

Speech at Mount Horeb, Wisconsin, October 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It gives me very great pleasure to meet the people of this community, and to be presented by one of your neighbors and fellow-citizens, your representative in Congress [Representative Dahle].

I congratulate you all upon the condition of the country as a whole and upon the prosperous condition of the people. Hard times have given place to good times. We are enjoying an era of debt-paying rather than debt-making. We are not only prosperous in our domestic manufactures and our domestic trade, but we are extremely fortunate in our foreign trade. I note by the newspapers this morning that in the month of September of this year-last month only-we sent abroad twenty million dollars' worth of our products more than we sent in September, 1898; so that we are not only manufacturing more in this country and producing more than we ever did, but we are finding a larger and wider market. We send more of our goods abroad and buy less abroad than formerly, and the balance of trade is therefore in our favor, and comes to us in gold.

Not only, my fellow-citizens, have we been fortunate in our business affairs, but we have been alike fortunate in the war that has been concluded. No nation was ever more happy than ours that it was quickly disposed of. The fleet of Dewey in Manila and the American fleet in

Santiago soon destroyed all of the Spanish sea-power, and when that was done the victory was won. And through all that war, my countrymen, we had the highest exhibitions of humanity. Our fallen foes were tenderly cared for. We observed the highest honor in all our dealings with the Spanish people ; and as a result of that war grave responsibilities were put upon us. We did not seek them. We went only that we might relieve the Cuban people of an oppression under which they had been suffering for years-our neighbors, close to us, almost on our very borders. We went to war that we might give them relief, and as a result we have Porto Rico and the Philippines. They have come to us in the providence of God, and we must carry the burden, whatever it may be, in the interest of civilization, humanity, and liberty. [Great applause.]

CLXXXIX.

Speech at Madison, Wisconsin, October 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I have the most pleasant memories of my former visits to your beautiful capital city. On those occasions we were engaged in the discussion of great economic questions affecting the interests of the country. The voice of partizanship is hushed to-day, and the voice of patriotism is alone heard in the land. [Great applause.] We know neither party nor creed nor sect nor nationality in our devotion to a common country and a common flag. We are all one in the presence of a great national duty, and there are no divisions among us whenever our flag is assailed, wherever and by whomsoever. [Enthusiastic applause.]

We have gone through a war, the celerity of which and the results of which are scarcely recorded of any other war in history. The American arms triumphed on land and on sea, with unprecedented exemption from disease and death on the part of our soldiers and sailors. We are proud of the army and the navy. They have brought us great responsibilities; they have brought us new acquisitions and new territory; and it is for us to accept those responsibilities, meet them with manly courage, respond in a manly fashion to manly duty, and do what in the sight of God and man is just and right. [Great applause.]

One tribe, and a small fraction of that tribe, is questioning the sovereignty of the United States in the island The very people we emancipated from opof Luzon. pression assailed our flag and shot our soldiers. The shedding of blood is anguish to my soul. The giving up of the lives of our bravest and best young men wrings my heart. The shedding of the blood of the misguided Filipinos is a matter of sorrow to all of And yet they are resisting the sovereignty of ns. the United States over a territory which we acquired, not by conquest alone, but by the solemn treaty of peace sanctioned by the Congress of the United States. When our authority is undisputed in every part of that archipelago hostilities will stop. May that time soon come! [Enthusiastic cheering.]

It is said we could have peace if we would give them independence and a government of their own under their own sovereignty. It is said that if the President would do this we would have peace. The President has no power, even if he was disposed, which he is not [great applause], to alienate a single foot of territory which we have honestly acquired, or give up sovereignty over it to any other peoples. [Cheers.] That power belongs to the people. It is vested in Congress, which represents the people, and no such power was ever given to the Chief Executive by the people, by Congress, or by the Constitution, and to use it would be a base usurpation of prerogative by the Chief Executive of the government. And then, if we were going to cede the islands away, to whom would we cede them? There is no government there but ours. The great majority of the people acknowledge allegianee to our flag, and are glad to have the shelter of its protection.

My fellow-citizens, the Philippines came to us not of our seeking: none of us ever dreamed, when this war commenced, that we were to have either Porto Rieo or the Philippine Islands. We went to war for civilization and for humanity, to relieve our oppressed neighbors in Cuba. I was one of those who held back until the last moment, hoping that war might be averted. I did not want to involve my country in bloodshed. [Great applause.] But the war eame, and a few of those who wanted it most are now trying to shirk its responsibilities. [Enthusiastic and continued applause.] Man plans, but God Almighty executes. We cannot avoid our responsibility. There was no fault in the victory; there must be no halting in upholding it. We have the Philippines, and our flag is there.

This subject of expansion is not a new one. It was the gospel of the early statesmen and patriots of this country. It found substantial realization in the magnificent achievement of that illustrious statesman, Thomas Jefferson. It was the dream of Marcy. In 1853 he sought to acquire the Hawaiian Islands. It was the dream of Seward; it was the dream of Douglas. Let me read you what Stephen A. Douglas said in 1858 forty-one years ago:

It is idle to tell me or you that we have land enough. Our fathers supposed that we had enough when our territory extended to the Mississippi River, but a few years' growth and expansion satisfied them that we needed more, and the Louisiana Territory, from the west branch of the Mississippi to the British possessions. was acquired. Then we acquired Oregon, then California and New Mexico. We have enough now for the present. But this is a young and growing nation. It swarms as often as a hive of bees, and as new swarms are turned out each year there must be hives in which they can gather and make their honey. In less than fifteen years, with the same progress, this country will be occupied. Will you not continue to increase at the end of fifteen years as well as now? I tell you, increase and multiply and expand is the law of this nation's existence. You cannot limit this great republic by mere boundary-lines, saying, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." Any one of you gentlemen might as well say to a son twelve vears old that he is big enough and must not grow any larger. . . . With our natural increase, growing with a rapidity unknown to any other part of the globe, with the tide of immigration that is fleeing from despotism in the Old World to seek refuge in our own, there is a constant torrent pouring into this country that requires more land, more territory upon which to settle; and just as fast as our interests and our destiny require additional territory in the north. or in the south, or on the islands of the oceau, I am for it.

I have been more than glad to meet the young men of the State university. [Applause.] Only a few years more and upon them and upon the other young men of the country will rest the responsibility of government. I bid them and all the boys of the land, while they have an opportunity, to equip themselves for this great trust, that they may be able to earry on the government unimpaired in vigor, virtue, liberty, and conscience. [Enthusiastic and long-continued applause.]

CXC.

Speech at Waukesha, Wisconsin, October 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

As I return homeward from the great West, it gives me much pleasure to stop in your city. My journey has been one of increasing interest. Everywhere we have gone, whether in the town or the city or the village or by the farmside, we have been welcomed by the same joyous hearts and with the same warm words with which you receive us here to-night. [Applause.] I go back stronger for the great duties and responsibilities which the people three years ago placed upon me, and with unfaltering faith in the wisdom and the patriotism and the virtue and the power of the American people. [Great applause.]

The school-children about us are being prepared every day, not only in the home, but in the school, for the responsibilities which in time will rest upon them, to carry forward this great structure of government. In their hands and in yours liberty is safe, not only within the United States, but in every part of the territory of the United States over which our flag floats. [Long-continued applause.]

CXCI.

Speech at the Deutscher Club, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 16, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I thank the people of the city of Milwaukee, and all the people present, for their magnificent welcome here tonight. I have every assurance that it comes from your warm hearts, not to me as an individual, but as expressive of your love of country [great applause] and your devotion to our free institutions [continued applause], which give the highest rewards to human energy and the widest opportunities for human development. [Continued applause.]

Nothing can befall this republic so long as the people of the United States exhibit that loyalty and patriotism which have characterized them from 1776 down to the present year. [Applause.] This republic rests not upon force, not upon the strength of our armies or our navies, but upon the masterful power of the American people. [Great applause.] And I do not mistake the temper of the people when I say that wherever that starry banner of the free is raised it stands for liberty and humanity [continued applause]; and whoever assails it and wherever it is assailed, the assailants will be met with the strong, mighty arm of the government of the United States. [Enthusiastic applause, long continued.]

I thank you one and all for this hearty reception, and wish for you the highest realization of all that is noble in life, in character, and in home. [Long-continued applause.]

CXCII.

Speech at the Banquet of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 16, 1899.

Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen :

I am profoundly grateful to the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of the city of Milwaukee for this more than hospitable welcome. I am glad to meet with the representative business men of this enterprising city, whose commercial integrity and business honor stand, and have stood, unsullied amidst the shock and peril of financial disaster, and stand to-night unchallenged in the business world. [Applause.]

I rejoice at your progress and prosperity. Your products last year, amounting to one hundred and fortytwo million dollars, were carried on every sea and to most of the ports of the world. May we not hope, with our expanding markets and our increasing export trade, at no very distant future to rehabilitate our merchant marine and send our ships of commerce into every ocean, carrying American products under the shelter of the American flag? [Applause.]

In the acquisition of wealth the people of Milwaukee have not forgotten the aids and refinements of civilization. I passed to-night that noble monument to learning and education, your public library and museum. [Applause.] At the public reception, with the thousands that passed by me there was one small boy, not above fourteen years of age, poorly clad, but with bright eyes and a manly face, earrying a book under his arm that he had drawn from that public library. [Applause.] This aid, with others which the nation and the State are furnishing, will equip the young men of the country to take the trust and responsibilities of public affairs after we shall have laid them down.

This State has every reason to be proud not only of its educational progress and its industrial triumphs, but of its patriotism. [Applause.] In the great Civil War you furnished tens of thousands of brave men, who went forth to give their lives, if need be, for the preservation No service was too great, no demand of of the Union. country too severe for the soldiers of the Civil War. And in the recent war with Spain you did your full part, and furnished your full quota with a promptness and alacrity equal to that of any other State of the Union. [Great applause.] Milwaukee has every reason to be proud of the men she has furnished as soldiers and sailors : General King [applause], faithful to his country in the Philippines: and that other gallant and intrepid soldier who has added new laurels to American arms in the person of General MacArthur. [Great applause.] Born in your city, he has brought honor to the place of his birth. And then in that other branch of the public service, the navy, you furnished the executive officer of the Oregon [applause], the ship that traveled fourteen thousand miles around the world, and when it reached our shore, wired to Washington that it was ready for duty and needed no repairs [great applause]; and Captain Cotton, who came from this city [applause], commanded that auxiliary to the navy known as the Harvard, and did valiant service in the West Indies.

We are all proud of our country. The toast you have given me is "The President of the United States." It is not proper at a banquet to speak to your toast. [Laughter.] Some people appear to be disturbed about the President's policy. [Laughter and applause.] [The President has no policy against the will of the people. [Enthusiastic applause.] The best policy in this world for man or nation is duty. [Applause.] Where that calls we should follow. We should not halt. We should not hesitate. Responsibility born of duty cannot be evaded with honor. We are in the Philippines. Our flag is there. The first requirement, the indispensable requirement, is peace. [Enthusiastic applause, long continued.] No terms until the undisputed authority of the United States shall be acknowledged throughout the archipelago! After that Congress will make a government under the sovereignty of the United States. [Cries of "Good !" Applause.] In no other way, gentlemen. can we give peace to the national conscience or peace to the world. [Long-continued applause.]

CXCIII.

REMARKS AT THE IRON FOUNDRIES, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, OCTOBER 17, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

As I have been journeying through the country I have been welcomed with a warm cordiality by my fellow-citizens, but at no place have I had a reception that has given me more genuine pleasure, more real satisfaction, than the greetings of the working-men of this great establishment and the other great establishments of this city about the buildings in which they toil. [Great applause.] I congratulate you all upon the prosperity of the country. The employer is looking for the laborer and not the laborer for the employer, and I am glad to note, from one end of the country to the other, a universal demand for labor.

I thank you more than I can find words to express, and wishing you all good things, I bid you good-by. [Enthusiastic applause.]

CXCIV.

SPEECH AT RACINE, WISCONSIN, OCTOBER 17, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

If I were not moved by the welcome of this great assemblage of my countrymen I would be indifferent indeed to all human sensibilities. I am glad to stand in this city of diversified industries and busy toilers and look into the faces of the people who have made your city what it is.

This is a nation of high privilege and great opportunity. We have the free school, the open Bible, freedom of religious worship and conviction. We have the broadest opportunity for advancement, with every door open. The humblest among you may aspire to the highest place in public favor and confidence. As a result of our free institutions the great body of the men who control public affairs in State and nation, who control the great business enterprises of the country, the railroads and other industries, came from the humble American home and from the ranks of the plain people of the United States. [Applause.] I have no sympathy with that sentiment which would divide my countrymen into elasses. I have no sympathy with that sentiment which would put the rich man on the one side and the poor man on the other,—labor on one side and capital on the other [applause],—because all of them are equal before the law, all of them have equal power in the conduct of the government. Every man's vote in the United States is the equal of every other's on that supreme day when we choose rulers and Congresses and governors and legislatures. [Applause.]

Our eitizens may accumulate great wealth, and many of them do; but they cannot take it with them, nor can they entail it from generation to generation. He who inherits must keep it by his own prudence or sagacity. If he does not, it is divided up among his fellows.

My fellow-citizens, I am here only to speak a word of thanks and of gratitude for this welcome. Our country is more prosperous to-day than it has ever been before. It is more patriotic at this hour than at any other hour in all its history. Our thoughts, our prayers go to the brave men in the distant islands of the sea who are upholding the flag in honor. [Great applause.] And while they are doing that we will uphold them. [Cries of "Good!" Applause.] All hostilities will cease in the Philippines when those who commenced them stop [applause]; and they will not cease until our flag, representing liberty, humanity, and civilization. shall float triumphantly in every island of the archipelago under the acknowledged sovereignty of the republic of the United States. [Long-continued applause.]

CXCV.

REMARKS AT KENOSHA, WISCONSIN, OCTOBER 17, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I very much value the great receptions which have been accorded to the members of my official family and myself as we have journeyed through our vast country. I never meet a great concourse of people like the one which stands before me, representative as it is of American life and character, carrying the flag of our country borne by the veterans of the Civil War and by the newer soldiers of the Spanish War, and the children, and all the people having love of country in their hearts, that I do not feel that the free institutions which were so wisely established by the fathers will be forever safe in the hands of the American people.

This is a busy hive of industry, where every man can find work and wages, where all the people are contented and happy and prosperous, and where all of them love the flag and would have it maintained in honor. [Great applause.] The patriotism of the country was never higher than at this moment; and there is just one thing in the mind of every true American to-day, and that is that our flag, which has been assailed in the Philippines, shall triumph, and those who assail it shall fail of their purpose. [Enthusiastic cheering.] And hostilities in that distant island of Luzon will cease whenever all the people recognize the authority and sovereignty of the United States. [Long-continued applause.]

CXCVI.

SPEECH AT WAUKEGAN, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 17, 1899.

Mr. Mayor, my Fellow-Citizens :

I thank you for the words of welcome spoken in your behalf by the mayor of this enterprising city. I am always glad to meet the people whom it is my privilege and honor for the time to serve. I am glad to confess in any presence that I never meet my countrymen in public assembly that I am not assisted in the great responsibilities which, by their suffrages. I am carrying, and that I am not strengthened by such commingling with them. The counsels of the people in a government like ours are always noble and useful. The will of the people is the law of the land; and I am glad to know not only what my countrymen are thinking about, but to be advised by them always of what they think is right and what is best in administration and government. For, after all, the great body of the people have a single interest, that of having their government wisely, faithfully, and honestly administered. Thev have little care for mere individuals, except as the individual may serve them best, and best represent the principles which are dear to them in governmental policy.

Above all else you want your government administered with integrity and for the equal benefit of all. [Applause.] You want it to be, not the representative of one class of people, or still another class of people, but of all the people, and to embody in it the best aims and the noblest aspirations of all. And so I shall go back to the great duties of my office cheered by your encouraging words, strengthened by your happy faces, in which I read devotion to country and an increasing love for our free institutions. [Applause.] I shall go back feeling that I carry with me the purposes which are in your hearts; and if I can earry those purposes into public administration, then I will have achieved the highest mission of a public servant. [Applause.]

I think I know, I am sure I know, what is uppermost in every mind here to-day. You are thinking of your country; not of its interests here at home, for with them you are fairly satisfied and feel that they are secure. You are thinking of the vast interests of the government in the new possessions which have come to us by the fortunes of war. Your hearts go out to the brave men in the distant islands of the Pacific, where they are maintaining the sovereignty of the United States over a territory ceded to us by Spain by treaty, which has the solemn sanction not only of the ratifying power of the Senate, but of the Congress of the United States. [Great applause.]

I cannot, my fellow-citizens, misread your purpose and your conception of public duty. I am endeavoring, as I am bound to do by the Constitution of the United States, to execute the laws in every foot of territory that belongs to us. [Applause.] Rebellion has been raised against your authority in a territory that is as much our own as Alaska or the District of Columbia or any territory of the United States [applause]; and that rebellion will be put down [enthusiastic applause], and the authority of the United States will be made supreme. [General ery of "Good!" Great applause.] Some people say the President is carrying on an unholy war in the Philippines—an unholy war to uphold the holy banner of the free which these children carry in their hands, and which represents the sovereignty of the republic! [Great applause.] The people of the United States never had an appeal made to duty which was in vain. [Long-continued applause.]

CXCVII.

Speech at Evanston, Illinois, October 17, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

The welcome of the people of this city of culture and of homes is most gratifying to me. I am glad to meet all the people and the students of the great university located here. I have the honor to be an alumnus of that institution, and it is a great distinction to be on its roll. [Applause.]

There will be much in the future resting upon the young men of the country—the educated young men; and, fortunately, under our institutions every boy has an opportunity to get a liberal education to fit him for every occupation and calling of life. The responsibilities which rest upon this nation at this time are grave, but our duty is plain and unmistakable, and we must follow its commands and meet these responsibilities with courage and wisdom.

The authority of the United States is assailed in one of the islands of the Pacific. That authority will be established in those islands. [Great applause.] The boys who carry our flag in that distant sea will be sustained by the American people. [Great applause.] It is the flag of our faith and our purpose; it is the flag of our love. It represents the conscience of the country, and carries with it, wherever it goes, education, civilization, and liberty. [Enthusiastic applause.] And let those lower it who will! [Cries of "Never!"] Peace first, then government afterward, giving the largest liberty possible and the largest participation in government of which the inhabitants are capable. [Long-continued applause.]

CXCVIII.

REMARKS AT MICHIGAN CITY, INDIANA, OCTOBER 17, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

This is an unexpected, but, I assure you, a most appreciated greeting from my fellow-citizens of Indiana. I am glad to see the school-children here, waving the flag of their country, the flag they love so much, the flag that means so much to all of us. I am glad to see the working-men assembled here to-day, and to know that in every part of our country they have employment and wages, which bring comfort and hope and happiness to their homes. [Great applause.]

CXCIX.

REMARKS AT THREE OAKS, MICHIGAN, OCTOBER 17, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

We have had very many beautiful receptions in our long journey through the great Northwest, but I assure you we have had none more unique than the one you have given us here in Three Oaks. I am glad to observe the patriotic purpose of this people to preserve in memory for all who may come after the lesson of the great achievements of the American navy. It has been given to few navies of the world to win such signal and memorable triumphs, accomplished, too, without any loss of life. And the triumph which Dewey achieved at Manila, and which gave us the Philippine Islands as our territory and possession, accepted by the Congress of the United States, will be upheld by the American people. [Great applause.] And our flag that floats there, not as the symbol of enslavement, but of emancipation, representing, as it does, the authority of the government of the United States, will be supported to victory by all our people. [Enthusiastic applause.]

REMARKS AT NILES, MICHIGAN, OCTOBER 17, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

The name you bear is a very familiar one to me. It is the name of the town in which I was born in Ohio. [Great applause.] So that associated with it are some of the sweetest and pleasantest memories of my boyhood days.

I am glad to feel, from the presence of this large assembly at this time of the evening, the assurance that you are here because of your devotion to your country. [Great applause.] In your welcome to the Chief Executive of the nation you express your love and loyalty to the government over which, by your suffrages, he presides.

It gives me pleasure, also, to look into the faces of the constituents of my friend, your representative in Congress, Mr. Hamilton. [Great applause.]

CCI.

REMARKS AT BATTLE CREEK, MICHIGAN, OCTOBER 17, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

No human voice could reach the limits of this great throng of my assembled countrymen. This welcome which you accord to me to-night was wholly unexpected, but I assure you it gives me unbounded pleasure. I recall with the pleasantest memories a former visit I made to this city several years ago. Then you gave me warm greeting. To-night's so far surpasses it that I am deeply touched, and am not able to make suitable acknowledgment.

On the occasion of my last visit I was discussing before you certain great economic questions. Those questions, for the time at least, have been settled, and T think happily settled. I stop to-night only to utter in a single sentence the gratitude of my heart for the splendid patriotism of the American people in the past eighteen months. [Applause.] Michigan was not only great in her devotion to her country in the Civil War, but when the war with Spain came she was quick to respond to the call of country, and her regiments were ready to do and die for the honor of the government and for the relief of the people of Cuba from the oppression under which they had suffered for so many years. I make public acknowledgment here, as I do elsewhere, for this almost unprecedented demonstration in favor of country. Michigan stood with us in the war until peace came. Michigan will stand with us until the rebellion is suppressed in Luzon and the flag of the nation floats in triumph where it is now raised in the cause of humanity. [Enthusiastic applause.]

CCII.

Speech at Jackson, Michigan, October 17, 1899.

Mr. Mayor and my Fellow-Citizens :

I have very great regard as well as sympathy for the patience you have exercised in the long wait you have had to give us greeting. I thank you most heartily for this expression of your kindly feeling and good will.

It is gratifying to note, not only here, but everywhere throughout the country, the increasing interest of the people in public affairs. The vigilance of the citizen is the safety of the republic. So long as the people exercise a high degree of care and interest for the government, so long will the republic be safe. There would seem to be no danger from indifference at the present hour. I think there never was a time when there was so much thought and interest in public affairs as now. Every citizen is deeply concerned for the welfare of his country. He is fairly well satisfied with conditions at He is satisfied with the condition of the Treahome. surv. He is satisfied with the condition of business and the universal prosperity which everywhere prevails. His thought is not so much at home as it is in the new possessions which have been added to American territory through the valor of American arms and by the treaty of peace. The thoughts of the country are now in the Philippines. They follow the brave men, the soldiers and sailors of the United States, who are upholding the cause of our country in those distant islands of the sea. We all want peace, not only here, but there. We want the sovereignty and authority of the United States recognized in that territory as fully as it is recognized in every other territory belonging to the American government. [Applause.] The American people regret that those whom they emancipated, the very people whom they relieved from oppression, should have turned upon the soldiers of the United States, foully assaulted them, and resisted our sovereignty.

But having done it, there is nothing left for the gov-

ernment of the United States to do but to establish, at whatever cost may be required, its unquestioned authority in those ceded islands. [Applause.] And as the boys at the front are carrying the flag, the hearts of the people follow them, and the government will stand behind them until that flag is carried to a triumphant peace. [Great applause.]

CCIII.

REMARKS AT THE HOLLENDEN, CLEVELAND, OHIO, OCTOBER 18, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

Many friends have greeted us in the past two weeks as we have traveled through the country. Our welcome has been warm and generous and heartfelt, and it is especially pleasant to come back to the early friends, the friends of a lifetime, whose heart-throbs I have felt for more than a quarter of a century, and whose unfaltering fidelity to the cause which, for the moment, I represented, and to the country which I have been trying to serve, has never been interrupted. [Applause.] And whether they are new friends or old, whether they are in the far Northwest or in the great center of our country, all of them are devoted to our free institutions and to the honor and integrity of the flag. [Applause.] I think I have never seen such a demonstration of patriotism. such an exhibition of public consecration, as I have witnessed in the last two weeks. The grave and serious problems which rest upon us account for this unusual interest on the part of the people in public affairs. The

problems are grave; the responsibilities are great. Nobody feels them more than I do. And yet, my countrymen, our duty is plain, straightforward, unmistakable, to stand by the national honor and protect the territory we got by [Enthusiastic applause.] Our soldiers solemn treaty. carrying our flag in Luzon will be supported by the people of the United States [continued applause], and hostilities will stop in that distant island of the sea when the men who assaulted our flag and our soldiers shall lay down their arms. [Cries of "Good !" Applause.] Peace will come, and I trust and believe will come shortly, and we will be able to give to the people in the Philippines a government of liberty and law, a government which will encourage their best aspirations and their noblest aims, a government under the sovereignty of the United States. [Great applause.]

CCIV.

Speech at Warren, Ohio, October 18, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

With unfeigned pleasure I come back, after many years of absence, to meet my fellow-citizens of the county of my birth and boyhood. I need not assure you that this presence awakens many tender and sacred memories. In my boyhood days I recall with vivid recollections the elder business men of the city of Warren; I recall the old and distinguished lawyers, the merchants, as well as many of the leading farmers of this vicinity; and to-day I see but few of them before me in this audience. But their sons have taken up the work which was inaugurated by their intelligence and industry, and you now have one of the most thriving and prosperous cities of the Western Reserve.

From this center went forth some of the best citizenship of the country, and from here radiated throughout this entire State—indeed, through the nation—the sentiment of liberty, devotion to country, and love of the flag. Great men were produced on this Western Reserve, and their influence has been felt in every village and hamlet of the land. The people of the Western Reserve have always adhered to principle. They were never side-tracked by mere policy. Whatever in their minds and consciences was right, that they did; and they always pursued the path of duty, which they believed was the path of right.

We have now before us some problems quite as serious as any that have ever confronted the republic. No appeal can be made to this constituency in vain. We are in the Philippines. We have acquired that territory, not by conquest alone, but by solemn treaty and with the sanction of the Senate and the national House of Representatives. That territory is ours just as much as any part of the great public domain. [Great applause.] It came to us not of our own seeking. We did not go out after it. We did not send Dewey to Manila to conquer those islands. We sent him to Manila when we were at war with Spain, to destroy the sea-power of the government against which we were fighting. [Great applause.] Dewey found its ships in the harbor of Manila and obeyed the orders of his government to capture or destroy them. [Continued applause.] When that was done there was a duty put upon the government of the United States by the act of

Dewey's fleet—a duty to protect life and property and preserve the peace within his jurisdiction. [Applause.]

There is a rebellion in one of the islands now, but it will be put down as we put down all rebellions against the sovereignty of the United States. [Enthusiastic and long-continued applause.] Our flag is there—rightfully there; as rightfully there as the flag that floats above me is here; and it is there, not as the flag of tyranny or as the symbol of slavery, but it is there for what it is here and for what it is everywhere [applause]—justice and liberty and right and eivilization. And wherever the American nation plants that flag, there go with it the hearts and consciences and humane purposes of the American people. [Long-continued applause.]

CCV.

REMARKS AT NILES, OHIO, OCTOBER 18, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

I fear I will not be able to make myself heard by this great audience. It is to me a matter of extreme pleasure to be able, after so many years of absence, to come back to the old town in which I was born [great applause]; and I need not tell you that many very cherished memories crowd my mind as I stand in this presence. The old frame school-house and the church have disappeared, and in their places splendid structures have been built.

This town has had its ups and its downs. I am glad to know that it is enjoying the upward rise at this time, and that prosperity is in your shops and factories, and happiness and contentment in your homes. I know, my fellow-citizens, that you will be certain of the high appreciation I feel to have the school-children of my native town here in such vast numbers waving the flag we love. [Great applause.] We never loved that flag as we love it to-day. There never were so many people devoted to it, willing to sacrifice life for it, as there are in the United States to-day. And wherever that flag is raised by the soldiers of the United States, it represents just what it represents here—the highest privileges, the broadest opportunities, and the widest liberty to the people beneath it. [Enthusiastic applause.]

CCVI.

Speech at Youngstown, Ohio, October 18, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

This seems to me very much like old times, and recalls many scenes of former days. I do not conceal in this presence the very high pleasure I have in meeting once more in this city, so dear to me, my former constituents and my old friends of the Eighteenth Ohio District. I was a boy in the county. I served you in the Congress of the United States; I served you as governor of our beloved State; and while holding these several offices was always greeted by you with generous and heartfelt welcome. And I can but make public acknowledgment here that in all my public and political life, covering now a period of nearly twenty-five years, I have ever enjoyed the support and encouragement of these good people who have assembled about me this evening. Nor can I fail to congratulate this community,

devoted as it is to industry and manufacture, upon the improved condition of the country in the last two years and a half. Nothing in this whole journey of mine, of more than five thousand miles into the great Northwest and through the Central and Western States, has given me more genuine pleasure than the welcome I have had from Cleveland to Youngstown by the working-men employed in the mills and factories along the line. No cheer has been more encouraging or more helpful to me than the cheer given by the men as they came out of the mills and waved their shining dinner-buckets, now full when once they were empty. [Applause.] I felicitate with you, for no man could have had a deeper interest in the welfare of this city than myself. I rejoice with you upon the wonderful growth and development of this Mahoning valley, and upon the marvelous advancement of your city in population and in industry.

I have met with you many times in the years gone by, in public discussion touching questions that affected the interest and well-being of this community; I have been here when wild passions moved the community; but I never made an appeal to the judgment of the men of this city and county that was made in vain. [Applause.]

We have now before us some grave problems in government—problems that demand, not only from the President, but from all the people, steady and sober judgment; problems not to be settled by one party or another, but by all the people; problems wider than party or section; problems that are national, and which this people must settle, and settle for right and justice, following the plain path of duty.

We are in the Philippines. Our flag is there; our boys in blue are there. They are not there for conquest: they are not there for dominion. They are there because, in the providence of God, who moves mysteriously, that great archipelago has been placed in the hands of the American people. [Great applause.] When Dewey sank the ships at Manila, as he was ordered to do, it was not to capture the Philippines. It was to destroy the Spanish fleet, the fleet of the nation against which we were waging war; and we thought that the soonest way to end that war was to destroy the power of Spain to make war, and so we sent Dewey. [Applause.] And the islands came to us. It was no responsibility we sought, but it was a responsibility put upon us. Will the American people shirk it? [Cries of "No!"] Have the American people ever been known to run away from a high moral duty? [Repeated cries of "No!"] Our flag is there, not as the symbol of oppression, not as the token of tyranny, not as the emblem of enslavement, but representing there, as it does here, liberty, humanity, and civilization. [Great applause.]

There was no cloud in Dewey's victory, and there will be no doubt or hesitation in preserving it. But, my fellow-eitizens, I have talked longer than I intended to. [Cries of "Go on!"] I only appeared to make my acknowledgment for this welcome from old constituents and old neighbors. I owe you much. I owe you more than I can ever return to you for your unfaltering support and the early encouragement you gave me as a struggling young man in this county. [Enthusiastic and long-continued applause.]

CCVII.

Speech at Public Reception in Youngstown, Ohio, October 18, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

My understanding was that the evening was not to be given over to speech-making, but that I was to have the privilege of shaking hands, so far as I was able, with my fellow-citizens who might assemble here. The very great number, however, who have honored me here would seem to make it impossible to proceed with a reception and to meet all of you, and so, in answer to your call, I appear only that I may say that I appreciate, more than I am able to express, the very heartfelt greeting that the people of Youngstown have accorded me on the occasion of this visit.

I have traveled a long distance throughout the country, meeting the people at every station through eight or ten States in great assemblages like the one that is before me to-night; and everywhere I have gone there has been the same manifestation of kindly feeling one toward another, of general good will, and of lofty patriotism.

The country everywhere is prosperous. The idle mills of three years ago have been opened, the fires have been rebuilt, and heart and hope have entered the homes of the people. For that I feel like extending to all of you sincere and hearty congratulations. The government of the United States, your government, the great machinery of administration, is going on well. We are collecting, every working-day of every month, sixteen hundred thousand dollars, which sum goes into the public Treasury to pay the current expenses of the government and the extraordinary expenses occasioned by the war. One million of that sixteen hundred thousand comes from internal revenue, largely upon spirits and tobacco, and the other six hundred thousand comes from a tariff, which you know all about here, put upon foreign products that come into the United States for consumption. I do not think that any of you feel very seriously either form of taxation. None of you seem to be suffering because of that large sum daily flowing into the public Treasury. While that sum is going into the Treasury, wages are going into the pockets of labor and profits are rewarding capital.

Not only are our financial affairs in good condition, for we have two hundred and fifty-six million dollars in gold now in the Treasury belonging to the government, but we are at peace with every nation of the world. We are on friendly relations with every power of earth. Never were there more good feeling and good fellowship existing between the United States and other nations of the world than to-day.

We are having some trouble, it is true, in the Philippines. That we could not help. The Philippines are ours. The men whom we emancipated from slavery, the men to whom we brought liberty, a fraction of a single tribe in a single island of the great archipelago, assailed the flag and the soldiers of the United States earrying it on that island; and nothing is left for us to do but put down the rebellion [great applause], and that we propose to do [renewed applause]. I hope it will not last long. And, as I said, that territory is ours. It is ours just as fully as any foot of territory in the United States. There is no flaw in our title. Openly made was the treaty of peace, openly ratified by the Senate of the United States, openly and publicly confirmed by the House of Representatives; and those islands stand to-day the territory of the Union, and as long as they are our territory the sovereignty of the United States must be supreme. [Great applause.]

Thanking you, my fellow-citizens, for your attendance in such vast numbers here to-night, and expressing to you, as I have already expressed to the great audience on the public square, my deep appreciation of the greeting received, I will close. I can never forget our old relations. I can never forget your support of me in the years that have gone by. [Applause.] When I was your representative in Congress, my whole aim, my whole purpose, my whole time, were devoted to the welfare of my constituents and the prosperity of my country. [Applause.] And if I have done anything in the course of my public life that gives me satisfaction to-night, it is that possibly in some small way I have helped to add one additional day's labor for the American workingman. [Applause.]

CCVIII.

RESPONSE TO THE COMMITTEE PRESENTING A PEACE PETITION URGING THE FRIENDLY SERVICES OF THE UNITED STATES IN MEDIATION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE BOERS, EXECUTIVE MANSION, OC-TOBER 26, 1899.

Gentlemen :

It gives me pleasure to receive you, bearing, as you do, the expression of the sentiment of peace and good will throughout the world, in which I concur. I am glad to meet you, and shall give due consideration to the views of a body of men so eminent in character and ability, voicing the sentiment of the petition which you have presented to me, and of the mass-meeting held in New York, October 11.

We all regret the outbreak of hostilities in South Africa. The bloodshed and the suffering on both sides affect us profoundly, and the protection of American interests involved demands the special concern of the government. The situation imposes upon us the necessity of a reserve both in our words and in our actions, lest we should unwittingly do injustice to either party in the controversy, or do violence to our traditional policy of impartiality.

I thank you for this visit, and beg to say that what you set forth shall have my earnest and serious consideration.

CCIX.

REMARKS AT FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA, OCTOBER 31, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

It gives me very great pleasure to meet my fellowcitizens of Fredericksburg, and your welcome is all the more appreciated because upon such an inclement morning so many of the people have assembled here. I am sure you will not expect me to do more than to make this simple acknowledgment of your courtesy and kindness. [Applause.]

CCX.

REMARKS AT ASHLAND, VIRGINIA, OCTOBER 31, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

The welcome extended to me by the governor of Virginia on behalf of all of its people has very greatly touched me. It gives me peculiar pleasure to come into this State.

Over one of the chapels of the city of London is the motto, "Think and thank." When we think of our national blessings, when we think of our wonderful progress and prosperity, when we think of the glorious unification of all the people of our forty-five States and of our Territories, we are most thankful to a kind Providence that has cast our lines in such pleasant places and given to us such a glorious heritage. If we counted our mercies, our thanks for them would be countless. [Great cheering and applause.]

CCXI.

REMARKS AT RAILROAD STATION, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, OCTOBER 31, 1899.

Mr Mayor and my Fellow-Citizens :

I only appear for a moment to give heartfelt response to the hospitable welcome awarded me by the people of the city of Richmond through its honored chief executive. Your mayor has kindly alluded to the good feeling which everywhere prevails, and I can only, in replying, say that if in the slightest degree I have contributed to the unification of the country, it is the proudest honor of my life. [Applause and cheers.]

This afternoon I am to speak for a few minutes, and so, only thanking you, Mr. Mayor and my fellow-citizens, for this welcome, I bid you all good morning. [Great and continued applause.]

CCXII.

Speech at Richmond, Virginia, October 31, 1899.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I am glad to meet my fellow-citizens of Richmond, and to join with them in this interesting celebration in honor of the launching of the torpedo-boat *Shubrick*, built in this city, of American material, by the labor of American working-men, for the use of the American navy. [Great applause.] I congratulate the builders and workmen upon the evidence of their skill and industry, so creditable to the manufacturing company and so highly commended by the officers of the government.

This is not the first contribution which Richmond has made to our splendid navy. She equipped the war-ship *Texas* with all her machinery, boilers, and engines, which were tried and tested with eminent satisfaction in the brilliant naval engagement in the harbor of Santiago [great applause], when that gallant vessel so gloriously assisted in the destruction of Cervera's fleet, winning a memorable victory and hastening an honorable and enduring peace.

I heartily rejoice with the people of this great eity upon its industrial revival and upon the notable prosperity it is feeling in all of its business enterprises. You are taking advantage of the commercial opportunities of the hour. You are advancing in manufactures, extending your markets, and receiving a deserved share of the world's trade. [Applause.]

What can be more gratifying to us than present conditions? A universal love of country and a noble national spirit animate all the people. We are on the best of terms with each other, and on most cordial relations with every power on earth. We have ample revenues with which to conduct the government. No deficit menaces our credit. Money is abundant in volume and unquestioned in value. Confidence in the present and faith in the future are firm and strong, and should not be shaken or unsettled. The people are doing business on business principles, and should be let alone—encouraged rather than hindered in their efforts to increase the trade of the country and find new and profitable markets for their products. [Great applause.]

Manufacturing was never so active and so universally enjoyed throughout all the States. Work was never so abundant. The transportation companies were never so taxed to handle the freight offered by the people for distribution. The home and foreign markets contribute to our prosperity. Happily the latter have increased without any diminution of the former. Your locomotives go to Russia; the watch-cases from my little city of Canton to Geneva; the bridges of Philadelphia span the Nile, and the products of the American farm and factory are carried upon every sea and find welcome in most of the ports of the world. [Applause.]

In what respect would we change these happy conditions with the promises they give of the future? The business activity in every part of the country; the better rewards to labor; the wider markets for the yield of the soil and the shop; the increase of our ship-building, not only for our government, but for purposes of commerce; the enormous increase of our export trade in manufactures and agriculture; the greater comforts of the home and the happiness of the people; the wonderful uplifting of the business conditions of Virginia and the South and of the whole country, mark this not only an era of good will, but an era of good times. [Applause.]

It is a great pleasure to me to stand in this historic capital and to look into the faces of my countrymen here assembled, and to feel and know that we are all Americans, standing as one for the government we love and mean to uphold, united for the honor of the American name and for the faithful fulfilment of every obligation which national duty requires. [Great applause.] I could not forget in this presence to make my acknowledgment to the men of Virginia for their hearty and patriotic support of the government in the war with Spain, and for their continued and unflinching loyalty in the suppression of the insurrection in Luzon against the authority of the United States. They came in swift response to the call of country.-the best blood of the State, the sons of noble sires, -asking for service at the battlefront where the fighting was the hardest and the danger the greatest. The rolls of the Virginia volunteers contain the names of the bravest and best, some of them the descendants of the most illustrious Virginians. They have shed their blood for the flag of their faith, and are now defending it with their lives in the distant islands of the sea. [Great applause.] All honor to the American army and navy! [Continued applause.] All honor has been shown the men returning from the field of hostilities, and all honor attends those who have gone to take their places.

My fellow-citizens, two great historical events, separated by a period of eighty-four years, affecting the life of the republic, and of awful import to mankind, took place on the soil of Virginia. Both were participated in by Virginians, and both marked mighty epochs in the history of the nation. The one was at Yorktown in 1781, when Cornwallis surrendered to Washington, which was the beginning of the end of the war with Great Britain and the dawning of independence and union. The great Virginian, sage and patriot, illustrious commander and wise statesman, installed the republic in the family of nations. It has withstood every shock in war or peace from without or within, experiencing its gravest crisis in the Civil War. The other, at Appomattox, was the conclusion of that crisis and the beginning of a unification now happily full and complete, resting in the good will and fraternal affection one toward another of all the people. [Great applause.] Washington's terms of peace with Cornwallis secured the ultimate union of the colonies, those of Grant with Lee the perpetual union of the States. Both events were mighty gains for the human family, and a proud record for a nation of freemen. Both were triumphs in which we all have a share, both are a common heritage. The one made the nation possible, the other made the nation imperishable. Now no jarring note mars the harmony of the Union. The seed of discord has no sower and no soil upon which to live. The purveyor of hate, if there be one left, is without a follower. The voice which would kindle the flame of passion and prejudice is rarely heard and no longer heeded in any part of our beloved country. [Prolonged applause.]

Lord of the Universe, Shield us and guide us, Trusting thee always Through shadow and sun. Thou hast united us, Who shall divide us? Keep us, oh, keep us The "Many in One."

Associated with this great commonwealth are many of the most sacred ties of our national life. From here came forth many of our greatest statesmen and heroes who gave vigor and virtue and glory to the republic. For thirty-seven of the sixty-one years from 1789 to 1850, sons of Virginia occupied the presidential office with rare fidelity and distinction—a period covering more than one fourth of our national existence. What State, what nation can have a greater heritage than such names as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Marshall? Their deeds inspire the old and the young. They are written in our histories. They are a part of the education of every child of the land. They enrich the school-books of the country. They are cherished in every American home, and will be so long as liberty lasts and the Union endures. [Applause.]

My countrymen, the sacred principles proclaimed in Philadelphia in 1776, advanced to glorious triumph at Yorktown, made effective in the formation of the Federal Union in 1787, sustained by the heroism of all our people in every foreign conflict, sealed in solemn covenant at Appomattox Court-House, sanctified by the blood of the men of the South and of the North at Manila and Santiago and in Porto Rico, have lost none of their force and virtue; and the people of the United States will meet their new duties and responsibilities with unfailing devotion to those principles, and with unfaltering purpose to uphold and advance them. [Enthusiastic applause.]

Standing near the close of the century, we can look backward with congratulation and pride, and forward into the new century with confidence and courage. The memories of the past impel us to nobler effort and higher endeavor. It is for us to guard the sacred trust transmitted by the fathers and pass on to those who follow this government of the free, stronger in its principles and greater in its power for the execution of its beneficent mission. [Long-continued applause.]

CCXIII.

Address at the Washington Memorial Services, Mount Vernon, December 14, 1899.

My Fellow-Citizens :

We have just participated in a service commemorative of the one hundredth anniversary of the death of George Washington. Here at his old home, which he loved so well, and which the patriotic women of the country have guarded with loving hands, exercises are conducted under the auspices of the great fraternity of Masons, which a century ago planned and executed the solemn ceremonial which attended the Father of his Country to his tomb. The lodge in which he was initiated and the one over which he afterward presided as Worshipful Master, accorded positions of honor at his obsequies, are to-day represented here in token of profound respect to the memory of their most illustrious member and beloved brother.

Masons throughout the United States testify anew their reverence for the name of Washington and the inspiring example of his life. Distinguished representatives are here from all the Grand Lodges of the country to render the ceremonies as dignified and impressive as possible, and most cordial greetings have come from across our borders and from beyond the sea.

Not alone in this country, but throughout the world, have Masons taken especial interest in the observance of this centennial anniversary. The fraternity justly claims the immortal patriot as one of its members; the whole human family acknowledges him as one of its greatest benefactors. Public bodies, patriotic societies, and other organizations, our citizens everywhere, have esteemed it a privilege to-day to pay their tribute to his memory and to the splendor of his achievements in the advancement of justice and liberty among men. "His fair fame, secure in its immortality, shall shine thro' countless ages with undiminished luster."

The struggling republic for which Washington was willing to give his life, and for which he ever freely spent his fortune, and which at all times was the object of his most earnest solicitude, has steadily and wonderfully developed along the lines which his sagacity and foresight earefully planned. It has stood every trial, and at the dawn of a new century is stronger than ever to carry forward its mission of liberty. During all the intervening years it has been true, forever true, to the precepts of the Constitution which he and his illustrious colleagues framed for its guidance and government.

He was the national architect, says Bancroft the historian, and but for him the nation could not have achieved its independence, could not have formed its Union, could not have put the federal government into operation. He had neither precedent nor predecessor. His work was original and constructive and has successfully stood the severest tests.

He selected the site for the capital of the republic he founded, and gave it the name of the Federal City, but the commission substituted the name of Washington as the more fitting, and to be a perpetual recognition of the services of the commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, the president of the convention which framed the Constitution, and the first President of the republic. More than seventy-five millions of people acknowledge allegiance to the flag which he made triumphant. The nation is his best culogist and his noblest monument.

I have been deeply interested and touched by the sentiments of his contemporaries, uttered a hundred years ago on the occasion of his death. The Rev. Walter King, of Norwich, Connecticut, in the course of an eloquent eulogy delivered in that city on January 5, 1800, said in part:

By one mighty effort of manly resolution we were born anew, and declared our independence. Now commenced the bloody contest of everything we held dear. The same Almighty Being by whose guidance we were hitherto conducted beheld us in compassion and saw what we needed—a pilot, a leader in the perilous enterprise we had undertaken. He called for Washington, already prepared, anointed him as his servant with regal dignity, and put into his hands the control of all our defensive operations.

But here admiration suppresses utterance. Your own minds must fill out the active character of the man. A description of the warlike skill, the profound wisdom, the prudence, the heroism and integrity which he displayed in the character of commanderin-chief would suffer materially in hands like mine. But this I may say: the eyes of all our American Israel were placed upon him as their savior, under the direction of Heaven, and they were not disappointed.

The Rev. Nathan Strong, pastor of the North Presbyterian Church in Hartford, spoke as follows on December 27, 1799:

He was as much the angel of peace as of war, as much respected, as deeply reverenced in the political cabinet for a luminous coolness of disposition, whereby party jealousy became enlightened and ashamed of itself, as he was for a coolness of command in the dreadful moment when empires hung suspended on the fate of battle. His opinions became the opinions of the public body, and every man was pleased with himself when he found he thought like Washington. Under the auspices of this great warrior, who was formed by the providence of God to defend his country, the war was ended and America ranked among the nations. He who might have been a monarch returned to his own Vernon, unclothed of all authority, to enjoy the bliss of being a free private citizen. This was a strange sight, and gave a new triumph to human virtue a triumph that hath never been exceeded in the history of the world, except it was by his second recess, which was from the Presidency of the United States.

And on the day preceding, December 26, 1799, in the course of his memorable funeral oration before both houses of Congress, Major-General Lee, then a representative from the State of Virginia, gave utterance to the noble sentiment, as forceful to-day as in those early days of our national life:

To the horrid din of battle sweet peace succeeded, and our virtuous chief, mindful only of the common good, in a moment tempting personal aggrandizement, hushed the discontent of growing sedition, and, surrendering his power into the hands from which he had received it, converted his sword into a plowshare, teaching an admiring world that to be truly great you must be truly good.

While strong with his own generation, he is even stronger in the judgment of the generations which have followed. After a lapse of a century he is better appreciated, more perfectly understood, more thoroughly venerated and loved than when he lived. He remains an ever-increasing influence for good in every part and sphere of action of the republic. He is recognized as not only the most far-sighted statesman of his generation, but as having had almost prophetic vision. He built not alone for his own time, but for the great future, and pointed the rightful solution of many of the problems which were to arise in the years to come. John Adams, the immediate successor of Washington, said of him in an address to the Senate on the 23d of December, 1799:

For himself, he had lived enough to life and to glory. For his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal. . . . His example is now complete, and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read.

The nation needs at this moment the help of his wise example. In dealing with our vast responsibilities we turn to him. We invoke the counsel of his life and character and courage. We summon his precepts that we may keep 'his pledges to maintain justice and law, education and morality, and civil and religious liberty in every part of our country, the new as well as the old.

CCXIV.

REPLY TO SPEECH OF DELEGATES FROM NATIONAL BOARD OF TRADE, EXECUTIVE MANSION, JANUARY 24, 1900.

Upon the occasion of the call of the members of the National Board of Trade upon President McKinley, January 24, 1900, ex-Governor Stanard, speaking in behalf of the board, delivered quite an extended address to the President, in which he outlined the desires and purposes of the board, concluding in these words:

"We congratulate you, Mr. President, upon the prosperity of the country and the success of your administration." 1.0

In replying the President said :

I cannot conceal the pleasure and honor I feel in this call on the part of the National Board of Trade, representing as it does the large and varied and important interests of our country. I rejoice with you upon our prosperity, and I trust that it may be long continued to the American people. Its continuance will very much depend upon the wisdom and conservatism of the business men of the United States. Can we not rely upon them to help us solve the great and momentous problems to which your chairman has referred, for the highest interest of the American people, and for the greatest good of those who have come within our jurisdiction and care?

CCXV.

Speech at Banquet of the Loyal Legion, Washington, February 22, 1900.

Comrades and Friends :

I had no thought, in meeting with you to-night, to interrupt the interesting program already arranged for the evening's entertainment, and I rise now only to express to you my hearty appreciation of the welcome which you have given me, and the pleasure it affords me to meet once more with the veterans of '61. I recall that it was this commandery, the commandery of the District of Columbia, that installed me years ago a companion in your organization. I have come to-night to pay my respects to my comrades of the Civil War, and to my companions in times of peace. The Union for which you fought has been saved by the valor, heroism, and sacrifice of yourselves and your comrades. We are together now, and the national sentiment is stronger, firmer, and higher than it ever was before. [Applause.]

There has been within the past two years a reunion of all the people around the holy altar of country, newly sanctified by common sacrifice. The followers of Grant and of Lee have fought under the same colors and have fallen for the same cause, and let us, comrades of the Loyal Legion, on this the anniversary of the birth of the Father of his Country, resolve, in the language of Lincoln, to dedicate ourselves anew to the imperishable cause which he advanced so far upon its way; and as Lincoln said at Gettysburg, let us firmly resolve that those who gave their lives shall not have died in vain; that the nation for which they shed their blood shall not perish from the earth. [Great applause.]

CCXVI.

Speech at Banquet of the Ohio Society of New York, New York, March 3, 1900.

Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen:

I appreciate your welcome, and thank you for this renewed expression of your friendship and good will. It is proper that I should say that the Managing Board of the Ohio Society has kept the promise made to me some months ago, that I would not be expected or required to speak at this banquet; and because of that promise I have made some preparation. [Laughter and applause.] I shall not be guilty of reflecting on their good faith, or breaking my own resolution not to speak, if I indulge in some observations while expressing in the briefest manner the pleasure which I have in greeting my old friends of the Ohio colony in New York. [Applause.] There is a bond of close fellowship which unites Ohio people. Whithersoever they journey or wherever they dwell, they cherish the tenderest memories of their mother State, and she in turn never fails of affectionate interest in her widely scattered children.

The statement which has so often been made is not far from the truth, "Once an Ohioan always an Ohioan." [Applause.] It has been some years since I was your guest. Much has happened in the meantime. We have had our blessings and our burdens, and still have both. [Laughter.] We will soon have legislative assurance of the continuance of the gold standard [great applause] with which we measure our exchanges, and we have the open door in the far East through which to market our products. [Continued applause.] We are neither in alliance nor antagonism nor entanglement with any foreign power [great and long-continued applause], but on terms of amity and cordiality with all. [Applause.] We buy from all of them and sell to all of them, and in the last two years our sales have exceeded our purchases by over one billion dollars. [Applause.] Markets have been increased and mortgages have been reduced. [Laughter and applause.] Interest has fallen and the wages of labor have advanced. [Applause.] Our public debt is diminishing and our surplus in the Treasury holds its own. It is no exaggeration to say that the country is well-to-do. Its people for the most part are happy and contented. They have good times at home and are on good terms with the nations of the

world. There are, unfortunately, those among us, few in number, I am sure, and none in the Ohio Society [laughter], who seem to thrive best under bad times [laughter], and who, when good times overtake them in the United States, feel constrained to put us on bad terms with the rest of mankind. [Laughter.] With them I have no sympathy. I would rather give expression in this presence to what I believe to be the nobler and almost universal sentiment of my countrymen, in the wish not only for peace and prosperity here, but for peace and prosperity to all the nations and peoples of the earth. [Great applause.] After thirty-three years of unbroken peace came an unavoidable war. Happily the conclusion was quickly reached, without a suspicion of unworthy motive or practice or purpose on our part, and with fadeless honor to our arms. [Applause.] I cannot forget the quick response of the people to the country's need, and the quarter of a million men who freely offered their lives, to their country's service. Tt. was an impressive spectacle of national strength. Tt. demonstrated our mighty reserve power, and taught us that large standing armies are unnecessary when every citizen is a "minute man," ready to join the ranks in his country's defense. [Great applause.]

Out of these recent events have come to the United States grave trials and responsibilities. As it was the nation's war, so are its results the nation's problem. [Applause.] Its solution rests upon us all. It is too serious to stifle. It is too earnest for repose. No phrase or catchword can conceal the sacred obligation it involves. No use of epithets, no aspersion of motives by those who differ will contribute to that sober judgment so essential to right conclusions. [Applause.] No political outery can abrogate our treaty of peace with Spain, or absolve us from its solemn engagements. [Long-continued applause.] It is the people's question, and will be until its determination is written out in their conscientious and enlightened judgment. We must choose between manly doing and base desertion. [Great applause.] It will never be the latter. [Continued applause.] It must be soberly settled in justice and good conscience, and it will be. Righteousness. which exalteth a nation, must control in its solution. No great emergency has arisen in this nation's history and progress which has not been met by the sovereign people with high capacity, with ample strength, and with unflinching fidelity to every public and honorable obligation. Partizanship can hold few of us against solemn public duty. We have seen this so often demonstrated in the past as to mark unerringly what it will be in the future. The national sentiment and the national conscience were never stronger or higher than now. [Applause.] Within two years there has been a reunion of the people around the holy altar consccrated to country and newly sanctified by common sacrifices. [Great applause.] The followers of Grant and Lee have fought under the same flag and fallen for the same faith. [Continued great applause.] Party lines have loosened and the ties of union have been strengthened. [Applause.] Sectionalism has disappeared and fraternity and union have been rooted in the hearts of the American people. Political passion has altogether subsided, and patriotism glows with inextinguishable fervor in every home of the land. [Applause.] The flag-our flag-has been sustained on distant seas and islands by the men of all parties and sections and creeds

and races and nationalities, and its stars are only those of radiant hope to the remote peoples over whom it floats. [Great applause.]

There can be no imperialism. Those who fear it are Those who have faith in the republic are against it. against it. [Applause.] So that there is universal abhorrence for it and unanimous opposition to it. [Enthusiastic applause.] Our only difference is that those who do not agree with us have no confidence in the virtue or capacity or high purpose or good faith of this free people as a civilizing agency, while we believe that the century of free government which the American people have enjoyed has not rendered them irresolute and faithless, but has fitted them for the great task of lifting up and assisting to better conditions and larger liberty those distant peoples who, through the issue of battle, have become our wards. [Great applause.] Let us fear not! There is no occasion for faint hearts. no excuse for regrets. Nations do not grow in strength, and the cause of liberty and law is not advanced, by the doing of easy things. [Applause.] The harder the task the greater will be the result, the benefit, and the honor. To doubt our power to accomplish it is to lose faith in the soundness and strength of our popular institutions. [Applause.]

The liberators will never become the oppressors. A self-governed people will never permit despotism in any government which they foster and defend. [Great ap-plause.]

Gentlemen, we have the new care and cannot shift it. And, breaking up the camp of ease and isolation, let us bravely and hopefully and soberly continue the march of faithful service, and falter not until the work is done. [Great applause.] It is not possible that seventy-five millions of American freemen are unable to establish liberty and justice and good government in our new possessions. [Continued applause.] The burden is our opportunity. The opportunity is greater than the burden. [Applause.] May God give us strength to bear the one, and wisdom so to embrace the other that we may carry to our new acquisitions the guaranties of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"! [Enthusiastic and long-continued applause.]

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CCXVII.

Address at the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions, New York, April 21, 1900.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Ecumenical Conference, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Words of welcome are unnecessary here. This representative gathering, this earnest and sympathetic assemblage, presided over by one of America's most illustrious statesmen and citizens, General Harrison [great applanse], is your true and best welcome. It attests the profound pleasure and satisfaction which all of us feel that the representatives of more than two hundred societies engaged in the work of foreign missions in every part of the globe are guests within our gates. To them are extended the hospitality of our homes and the devotion of our hearts [enthusiastic applanse], in acknowledgment and encouragement of their faithfulness and unselfishness in a great movement for uplifting the races of men, teaching them the truth of the common fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and showing that, if we are not our brothers' keepers, we can be our brothers' helpers. [Applause.]

I am glad of the opportunity to offer without stint my tribute of respect to the missionary effort which has wrought such wonderful triumphs for civilization. The story of the Christian missions is one of thrilling interest and marvelous results. The sacrifices of the missionaries for their fellow-men constitute one of the most glorious pages of the world's history. [Great applause.] The missionary, of whatever church or ecclesiastical body, who devotes his life to the service of the Master and of man, carrying the torch of truth and enlightenment, deserves the gratitude and homage of mankind. [Renewed applause.] The noble, self-effacing, willing ministers of peace and good will should be classed with the world's heroes. Wielding the sword of the Spirit, they have conquered ignorance and prejudice. They have been the pioneers of civilization. They have illumined the darkness of idolatry and superstition with the light of intelligence and truth. They have been messengers of righteousness and love. They have braved disease and danger and death, and in their exile have suffered unspeakable hardships, but their noble spirits have never wavered. They count their labor no sacrifice. "Away with the word in such a view and with such a thought !" says David Livingstone: "it is emphatically no sacrifice; say, rather, it is a privilege." They furnish us examples of forbearance and fortitude. of patience and unyielding purpose, and of a spirit which triumphs, not by the force of might, but by the majesty of right. They are placing in the hands of their brothers, less fortunate than themselves, the keys which unlock the treasures of knowledge and open the mind to noble

aspirations for better conditions. Education is one of the indispensable steps of mission enterprise, and in some form must precede all successful work.

The labors of missionaries, always difficult and trying, are no longer so perilous as in former times. In some quarters indifference and opposition have given place to aid and coöperation. A hundred years ago many of the fields were closed to missionary effort. Now almost everywhere is the open door, and only the map of the world marks the extent of their thought and action.

Who can estimate their value to the progress of the nations? Their contribution to the onward and upward march of humanity is beyond all calculation. They have inculcated industry and taught the various trades. They have promoted concord and amity and brought nations closer together. They have made men better. They have increased the regard for home, have strengthened the sacred ties of family, have made the community well-ordered, and their work has been a potent influence in the development of law and the establishment of government.

May this great meeting rekindle the spirit of missionary ardor and enthusiasm to "go teach all nations"; may the field never lack "a succession of heralds who shall carry on the task—the continuous proclamation of His gospel to the end of time"! [Long-continued applause.]

CCXVIII.

Speech at Antietam Battle-Field, Maryland, May 30, 1900.

Mr. Chairman and my Fellow-Citizens:

I appear only for a moment that I may make acknowledgment of your courteous greeting and express in a single word my sympathy with the patriotic occasion for which we have assembled to-day.

In this presence and on this memorable field I am glad to meet the followers of Lee and Jackson and Longstreet and Johnston with the followers of Grant and McClellan and Sherman and Sheridan, greeting each other, not with arms in their hands or malice in their souls, but with affection and respect for each other in their hearts. [Applause.] Standing here to-day, one reflection only has crowded my mind-the difference between this scene and that of thirty-eight years ago. Then the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray greeted each other with shot and shell, and visited death upon their respective ranks. We meet, after these intervening years, as friends, with a common sentiment,-that of loyalty to the government of the United States, love for our flag and our free institutions. -and determined, men of the North and men of the South, to make any sacrifice for the honor and perpetuity of the American nation. [Great applause.]

My countrymen, I am glad, and you are glad also, of that famous meeting between Grant and Lee at Appomattox Court-House. I am glad we were kept together -are n't you? [cries of "Yes!"]-glad that the Union was saved by the honorable terms made between Grant and Lee under the famous apple-tree; and there is one glorious fact that must be gratifying to all of us-American soldiers never surrendered but to Americans! [Enthusiastic applause.]

The past can never be undone. The new day brings its shining sun to light our duty now. I am glad to preside over a nation of nearly eighty million people, more united than they have ever been since the formation of the Federal Union. [Applause.] I account it a great honor to participate on this occasion with the State of Maryland in its tribute to the valor and heroism and sacrifices of the Confederate and Union armies. The valor of the one or the other, the valor of both, is the common heritage of us all. The achievements of that war, every one of them, are just as much the inheritance of those who failed as those who prevailed; and when we went to war two years ago the men of the South and the men of the North vied with each other in showing their devotion to the United States. [Applause.] The followers of the Confederate generals with the followers of the Federal generals fought side by side in Cuba. in Porto Rico, and in the Philippines, and together in those far-off islands are standing to-day fighting and dying for the flag they love, the flag that represents more than any other banner in the world the best hopes and aspirations of mankind. [Great and long-continued applause.]

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